United Nations

WORLD

The International Magazine A

Ambassador Austin

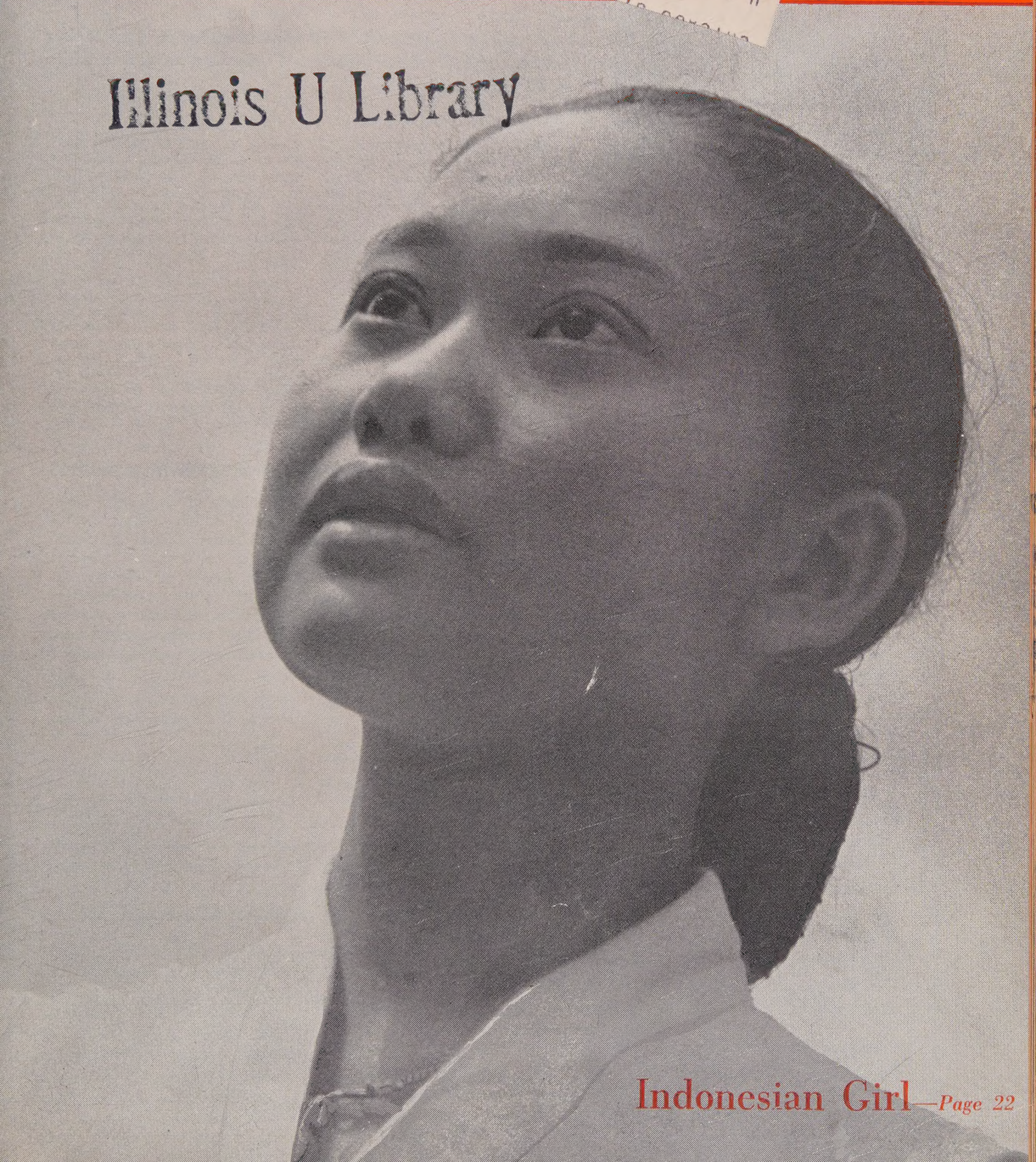
THE UN AND ONE WORLD

The Vyshinsky Story

MEANS TO THE WEST

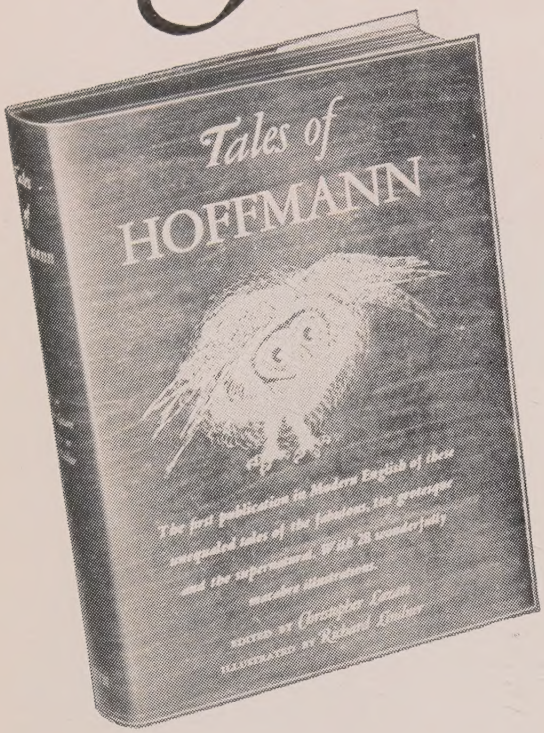
U 2AT BL 1959 1-SOR
UNIV OF ILLINOIS LIBRARY
CHICAGO UNDERGRADUATE
NAVY PIER
CHICAGO IL ILL -DIV

Illinois U Library



Indonesian Girl—*Page 22*

Free TO NEW MEMBERS OF OCCIDENTAL BOOK CLUB



Tales of HOFFMANN

The *original* magnificent $7.50 edition, edited by Christopher Lazare, profusely illustrated in full color and black and white by Richard Lindner.

Along with Heine, E.T.A. Hoffmann is one of the best known of the 19th century romanticists — a sensitive, colorful writer gifted with an imagination that takes you into a world of macabre, compelling fantasy. Here is the first modern translation of the stories that supplied themes for operas by Wagner and Offenbach, and left their mark on the works of Poe, Stevenson, Gautier, Longfellow, Hawthorne and many others.

You meet in "Mademoiselle de Scudéry" the grand lady who won the favor of Louis XIV, and saved young Madelon and Olivier from the tragic obsession of the master goldsmith René Cardillac. In the tale of "The Golden Pot" you enjoy the rare fantasy of the student Anselmus, the gold-green snakes and the lovely Veronica. You learn in "Salvator Rosa" how the painter succeeded in a fabulous masquerade, and in "Berthold the Madman" how a great altar-piece was finished under the weight of unforgivable crime. "The Double", one of the first examples of the dual-identity theme is another of the stories told here with matchless originality and vigor.

Edited by Christopher Lazare, with a superb biographical preface, this magnificently printed and bound 509-page volume includes twelve full page illustrations in four colors, and sixteen in black and white by Richard Lindner. The exceptional drawings reflect perfectly the author's own time and the fascinating quality of these famous "Tales of Hoffmann". Write for your free copy today.

CURRENT SELECTIONS

THE GRAND DESIGN
by John Dos Passos

The scene is Washington, 1932 to 1942, and Dos Passos' characters are men who rule a world. With deft, incisive strokes he lays bare an era with the strength of fiction that springs from truth . . $3.50

THE PENAL COLONY
by Franz Kafka

This volume contains all of Kafka's works which he, himself, thought finished enough to be published. Included are "The Judgment", "Metamorphosis", "In The Penal Colony" and the other works on which Kafka chose to stand . . . $3.00

SPANISH

La Rebelión y Otros Cuentos
by Rómulo Gallegos . . . $2.00

FRENCH

Les Noyers de l'Altenburg
by André Malraux . . . $3.50

BOOKS OF PERMANENT INTEREST AT WORTHWHILE SAVINGS

The exacting international literary standards of Occidental Book Club will be appreciated by discerning readers. The books are carefully chosen for their lasting merit and while no one book can please all readers we believe that people of intelligence will want to read and permanently retain most of the selections. Recent choices have included important works by Kafka, Proust, Sartre, Maurois and others whose exceptional talents need no elaboration. Since there are two selections each month and the subscriber need purchase only a total of four during the year the club imposes a minimum requirement for the real benefits it affords:

1. A valuable free book to all new members (this month, the *original* $7.50 edition of "TALES OF HOFFMANN").
2. You need buy only four of the club's selections in a year (and each month you can choose from two).
3. When you buy four club selections you receive a credit of 25% toward another selection.
4. Each month you will also have a choice of at least two of the most important books published in Spanish and French.
5. You receive a free subscription to "Occidental", an international review of books and literature edited by Prof. Angel del Río of Columbia University.

If you are interested we suggest that you return the coupon promptly because the free book, "Tales of Hoffmann", is available in only a limited quantity.

Please enroll me as a member. I am to receive free, as a gift to new members, the *original* $7.50 edition of "Tales of Hoffmann". My subscription is to start with one of the following: (please check):

- ☐ The Grand Design, Dos Passos ($3.50)
- ☐ The Penal Colony, Kafka . ($3.00)
- ☐ La Rebelión, Gallegos . . . ($2.00)
- ☐ Les Noyers, Malraux . . . ($3.50)

OCCIDENTAL BOOK CLUB, Inc.
Massapequa, New York UN-2

I agree to purchase 4 club selections during each year; I may cancel at any time thereafter. I am also to receive a credit of 25% toward another selection for each 4 club selections I purchase.

All prices plus 20¢ for postage and handling unless check is enclosed in which event club absorbs these costs.

NAME .....

STREET .....

CITY .....

STATE .....

A UN World Letter

From Togoland

STRETCHING 320 miles inland and hardly 40 miles at its widest, Western Togoland is hardly a third of the former German Colony of Togo, situated between the British Crown Colony of the Gold Coast and the French Territory of Dahomey.

That Western Togoland has no coastline might be the reason it is so little known; besides, there are no mineral resources exploited there, and its only source of wealth, cocoa, of which its annual export is estimated at about 16,000 tons, is marketed with that of the Gold Coast to which it has played second fiddle in every way throughout the 34 years of its attachment to it.

Togoland's only significance in recent years lies in the fact that it is now administered as a United Nations Trust Territory. The inhabitants attach great importance to this, and have shown it by the zeal and courage of a group of its youth, who by sheer determination, have succeeded in making it the first, and so far the only, non-self-governing territory in which a United Nations Association has been formed. They hope that, through the United Nations Trusteeship Council, their human rights are protected and their rapid development towards the earliest possible self-determination realized.

Western Togoland is virtually a country of farmers, and its scanty population of 382,000 is scattered over its 13,000 square miles in villages separated by wide stretches of uncultivated land waiting to be exploited with the introduction of modern methods of agriculture. There are no other occupations of importance, except the simple home industries of weaving, pottery and wood carving. A few who have had some schooling are employed as teachers, mercantile clerks and hawkers, while some have acquired such trades as carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, tailors and chauffeurs.

The ordinary farmer's life is interesting and perhaps pathetic. His dwelling is usually a small mud building with a thatched roof. A fence made of oilpalm branches encloses the yard, in the middle of which is an open fireplace that serves as the kitchen, on dry days. When it rains the cooking is done in a corner of the narrow veranda. On one side of the building is the stable where the farmer's goats and sheep take shelter during the night; during the day they are let loose to forage for themselves. His small poultry is managed in the same way.

At cock-crow his wife begins a hard and long day's work, in which the children must help. The man stays in bed till sunrise; usually he has been out during the night hunting, and has brought in a cutting-grass (small herbivore) without which the family would fare without meat.

The stagnant pool or rivulet from which they obtain water has to be visited several times by the wife and the daughters before dawn. When it dries up during the *harmattan* season, they often have to go many long miles for water, and then the man himself and the boys will help. The wife and daughters' morning duties are not complete until they have brushed every corner of the yard, except the stable which is the boys' responsibility.

Without any breakfast, the entire family is then ready to set out for the farm. They file out in a procession, the youngsters taking the lead. The mother and girls carry wooden trays or large enamel pans, and the boys carry gourds full of water. The farmer himself brings up the rear with a flintlock gun on his shoulder.

By 9 or 10 o'clock they have worked hard and need some rest. The only tools they know are the matchet *(machéte)* and the ancient Egyptian hoe. Half an hour or less under a crude shelter affords time

Picturesque and beautiful are the many tours you can make in historic Quebec —around the romantic Gaspe Peninsula—down the rugged north shore of the St. Lawrence to the Saguenay and Lake St. John—up through Montreal to the Laurentians—south to the storied Eastern Townships. And everywhere you will be welcomed with truly French-Canadian hospitality in comfortable inns and hotels.

LA PROVINCE DE
Québec

For help planning your vacation, or for information concerning the unsurpassed industrial opportunities in our province, write the Provincial Publicity Bureau, Parliament Building, Quebec City, Canada, or 48 Rockefeller Plaze, New York City 20.

FLY THE ATLANTIC THE LUXURY WAY

- SABENA's service between New York and Europe is the last word in luxury air travel. Fast, pressurized DC-6's cross the Atlantic high above any weather disturbances.
- SABENA's delicious hot meals are prepared by New York's famed Brussels Restaurant.
- Direct flights between New York and Brussels, with excellent connecting SABENA service to and from England, France Switzerland, Italy, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Greece, the Scandinavian Countries, Germany and Czechoslovakia; also to and from the Near East and Africa.

Make reservations now. See your Travel Agent, or

SABENA
BELGIAN AIRLINES
422 Madison Ave., New York 17
PLaza 3-1800
or any SABENA office throughout the world.

The World Airline with The Extra Margin of Experience

A UN World Letter *continued*

for a breakfast that is as hurried as it is inadequate. Yams or cassava baked in an open wood fire, eaten with a lot of hot pepper mashed with raw onions and salt is all the source of energy supplied for the five or six hours' labor.

Till 4 or 5, work continues in the hot tropical weather until the declining sun tells them it is time to be going home. The farmer shoulders his flintlock gun once more and takes a circuitous path alone, with the hope of adding a squirrel or wild guinea fowl to the previous night's bag. The rest burden themselves with large bundles of firewood or foodstuffs for the kitchen or the market, and wearily plod a more direct course homeward.

When the father joins the family at dusk, dinner is almost ready. After bath they sit around their meal for a communal feeding, joined by cousins, nephews and nieces from the families of uncles and aunts. The men and boys dip their hands into the same dish with the father, and the girls with the mother. This meal consists usually of boiled yams or cassava pounded in a wooden mortar into a sticky substance, and is eaten with soup or stew in the preparation of which palm oil, okra and garden-eggs (egg plant) play an important role—and sometimes meat.

Dinner over, the youngsters go out to play and dance in the village square, or sit around a fire to tell spider stories, folk tales which often have a moral to teach. The father goes to have a chat or drink with the neighbors, while the mother applies herself to spinning cotton, a craft she also teaches to the daughters when they are quite young.

Often that is not the whole family. The biggest boy of the family may have done some 10 years at school and, in company with a privileged few companions, is preparing for his Primary School Leaving Examination to be held on the last Friday of October.

There being no school in his village, he is doing this at a Central Mission Senior School 20 or 30 miles away from home. He has been at a mission school for many years; on that account he must be baptized and acquire a European name as a matter of fashion. Perhaps he is no called Johnson, MacDonald or A pleyard. At any rate, he is no long a completely ignorant village boy.

His parents have strained ever nerve and sinew, have denied them selves even the barest necessitie they have even gone in rags, in ord to be able to pay his high scho fees, and provide the costly mat rials to get an education.

To the boy the four years stay i the Gold Coast will be a great exp rience. He will use motor buses, rai way trains, electric lights, and wide his outlook on life by learning mo about the world through the radi the cinema and the press, all which are non-existent in his ow country. His future depends upo what efforts and sacrifices his po father is capable of making, and s indeed does the development of h country, too.

The farmer is the mainstay an the great hope of Togoland. Thos who have undertaken the respons bility of the development of th country should give priority atte tion to the improvement of his co ditions of life, and all that he nee to be able to apply modern metho to his daily work.

GERALD AWUM

MIND POWER

A FREE BOOK

Develop your personal, creative power! Awaken the silent, sleeping forces in your own consciousness. Become Master of your own life. Push aside all obstacles with a new energy you have overlooked. The Rosicrucians know how, and will help you apply the greatest of all powers in man's control. Create health and abundance for yourself. Write for *Free* book, "The Mastery of Life." It tells how you may receive these teachings for study and use. It means the dawn of a new day for you. . . Address: Scribe K.Y.Y.

The ROSICRUCIANS
SAN JOSE (AMORC) CALIFORNIA

THE INTERAMERICAN SUMMER SCHOOL
Saltillo, Mexico
6th Session, July 4-August 12
Spanish Conversation with PRIVATE tutors, three hours daily. Formalized classes. Activities. M. A. Degree. All Mexican faculty; Incorporated Dept. of University Studies, Mexico. G. I. approved. Lodging private homes. Bulletin.
DONALD M. CUSTER
Lock Box 413 Salida, Colorado

VERDE VALLEY SCHOOL

Prepares for COLLEGE and WORLD CITIZENSHIP

To build a peaceful world for tomorrow, our children must be educated today to think and act in terms of world cooperation. Verde Valley believes this can be done most effectively at the pre-college level while children's minds are still flexible.

On its 160-acre campus near Flagstaff, Arizona, specific training for international cooperation is integrated with thorough college preparation. Required courses are enriched by group work projects. Monthly trips make possible first-hand study of human relations and inter-cultural problems on Indian Reservations and in Mexican villages, economic and government problems in nearby cities, anthropology, geology and other sciences in Grand Canyon, etc.

Languages stressed. Highly qualified teachers. Riding, skiing, other sports. Full college preparatory course from grade 6, for boys and girls. Applications accepted now for fall term. Catalog on request.

HAMILTON WARREN, Dir.
Box 98, Sedona, Ariz. New York office: 205 E. 42nd St.

PICTURE CREDITS:
Cover: UN Official Photo: Pages 9 11, 13: UN Official Photo; Page 15 Sovfoto; Pages 17-21: Wide Worl Photos; Pages 22, 23: UN Offici Photos; Page 25: Netherlands In formation Bureau; Page 26: Hist drut Foto News; Page 32: Wid World; Pages 34, 35: French Em bassy, Information Division; Pag 45: International General Electri Co., News Service; Page 49: Ca Byoir & Associates; Moon Photo graphic Service; Pages 52-58: Inter national General Electric Co., New Service; Page 59: UN Official Photo Page 62: Wide World Photos.

UNITED NATIONS WORLD, April, 1949, Vol. No. 4. Published monthly by U.N. WORLD, Inc 385 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y. Entered second class matter August 2, 1948, at the Post Offic at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 187 Price: 35 cents a copy, $4.00 for one year, $7.0 two years, $9.00 three years. Foreign Postage outsid US possessions, Western Hemisphere and Spain, $1.0 a year. Printed in the U.S.A. Copyright 1949 b U.N. WORLD, Inc.

ITORIAL BOARD:
ichard J. Walsh, *Chairman*
earl S. Buck
liot Pratt
illiam L. Shirer
ed Smith
ernon Pope, *Director*

ONTRIBUTING EDITORS:
homas Mann
awaharlal Nehru
incent Sheean
in Yutang

NTERNATIONAL EDITOR:
ouis Dolivet

ANAGING EDITOR:
harles Burns

ENIOR EDITOR:
adislas Farago

ORLD BUSINESS EDITOR:
erbert Harris

RT CONSULTANT:
obias Moss

RT DIRECTOR:
enneth Audroué

OOKS, ART, TRAVEL:
ibor Koeves

ICTURES AND PRODUCTION:
earl M. Steinhaus

SSISTANT EDITORS:
nne Palmos, M. M. Goebel, Anne Berry

OVING CORRESPONDENTS:
eo Lania, Curt L. Heymann

NTERNATIONAL CORRESPONDENTS:
atalia Danesi Murray *(Rome)*; Gunnar agrell *(Stockholm)*; Vincent de Pascal *Montevideo)*; Jenaro Fernandez Mac-regor *(Mexico City)*; Francis Noel-Baker *London)*.

UBLISHER:
gbert White

ENERAL MANAGER:
ichard D. Mathewson

IRCULATION DIRECTOR:
argaret Stern

HE COVER

NURSE—and beautiful—this In-nesian girl was photographed by UN cameraman in Java.

UN WORLD THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE

CONTENTS, April 1949 *Vol. 3, No. 4*

ARTICLES

A More Perfect Union—And how it CAN'T be won 9 *Warren R. Austin*
What the Vyshinsky Move Means 13 *Ellsworth Raymond*
That Senator From Texas—Tom Connally 17 *Oliver Pilat*
The Backside of Colonialism—The Indonesian story 22
The Dutch Story—The more attractive face 24
Tears for Ten Years 26 *Nadia Lourie*
These dis-United Nations—A historical parallel 28 *Senator Alexander Wiley*
Eszterhazy Paul—Imprisoned prince 32 *Elizabeth Guthy Davis*
Strasbourg—Europe's new first city 34 *Tibor Koeves*
Why the Atlantic Pact 62 *Lester B. Pearson*

STATE OF THE WORLD

Letter From Togoland 1 *Gerald Awuma*
Reports From Moscow, Paris, Lake Success, etc. 4
April Analysis—West expands, East contracts 8 *The Editors*

THE UNITED NATIONS

This Is Quasi-World Government 59 *James Thorn*
UN Intelligence 61 *The Editors*

WORLD TRADE

Inflation by Taxation 46 *Frank Wilbur Main*
Whose Ruhr and Why 50 *Alison Outhwaite*
Electricity International—Second in an American series 52 *Herbert Harris*

BOOKS

The British Rediscover Love 38 *The Book Editor*
Recommended Books 40
Fission, Asia and the Politburo—Book reviews 41
Vital Books for Americans 44

EDITORIAL

The Great Decision 64 *Louis Dolivet*

SUBSCRIPTIONS: $4.00 one year, $7.00 two years, $9.00 three years. Foreign postage, outside United States possessions, Western Hemisphere nations and Spain, $1.00. Postage to APO and FPO addresses, free. Single copy price, 35c. Copyright 1949 by U.N. World, Inc., 385 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y. All rights reserved under the Pan-American Copyright Convention and International Copyright Union.

STATE OF THE WORLD

1. MOSCOW

World-wide intelligence roundup convinces Kremlin that cold war tensions lead dangerously close to shooting war—World Peace delegation marks reversion to practice of the mid-thirties

2. LAKE SUCCESS

Eastern delegates to the United Nations, lacking new directives, are in same hot spot US delegates in Paris occupied before November elections

3. PARIS

De Gaulle's supporters finally conclude the tide has turned against the General's one-party ambitions—Coalition with other parties now recognized as only route to power

APRIL ANALYSIS

Shift in the cold war: The West attacks on 10 fronts, the East on six—Analysis of political battle orders, the strengths and weaknesses of each side balanced and weighed

MOSCOW

Cold War Too Warm

Soviet leaders, according to seasone observers, have reached the alarm ing conclusion that cold-war ter sions, if not checked, may result in new world war. This finding is th result of a world information roun up, ordered by Moscow last Novem ber through regular diplomatic, mil tary and political intelligence chan nels, political sympathizers, speci envoys and others.

Assistant Secretary General of th UN, A. A. Sobolev, now in Moscow reportedly played a very great pa in stressing the gravity of the situa tion and in advising on possibiliti for improvement.

Some Western newspapers hav compared the present Soviet situatio with that of 1939. But in 1939 th Soviet Union had a choice betwee an alliance with France and Eng land and a pact with Nazi Germany Today she has no similar choic Therefore, the only apt compariso is with: 1. the early '20's when th Soviet Union, confronted by a ho tile world, isolated herself, or the early '30's, when she faced th rising Nazi tide and sought close tie with the League of Nations power

Today there is no possibility of a alliance between the Soviet Unio and powers outside those she alread controls. Therefore, the USSR mus adopt simultaneously a policy o limited isolationism and one of in creased peace efforts.

The Soviet Union will, in conse quence, try to improve its interna economic position, continue its arma ments program, attempt to strengthe the countries of the Soviet bloc, o ganize politically those areas wher the Communists are making prog ress, particularly China. There wi be strong insistence on the interna tional solidarity of workers, but few er Soviet citizens in international o fices. The UN will remain the mai platform on which the Soviets wi meet the outside world.

In the UN, the USSR will continu to veto the admission of Italy an other Western candidates as long a her own are excluded by the Wester majority.

Concessions can be expected in th practical fields of economic and tech nical co-operation with UN organ in the Berlin and Greek situation

and in intermittent softening of blows against the West.

International diplomatic circles attach the highest importance to the sending of a prominent delegation of Soviet citizens to the World Peace Conference in New York. In these circles, the subject of interest was not whether the State Department would or would not grant visas, but the fact that the Soviet Union let some of its most prominent musicians, scientists, writers and chemists come to the US at this time.

At only one other period in the history of the Soviet Union has permission been granted for such a delegation to attend an essentially political international conference. Of course, there have been sports, industrial, trade and "friendship" delegations sent abroad in the past. But, for a delegation to go right into the heart of "enemy" territory where there is no strong Communist following, there is only one precedent. In 1934-35, when the Soviet Union switched from considerable hostility to a very pro-collective security and pro-League policy, a Soviet delegation, headed by Nicolai Shvernik, now President of the Soviet Union, and at that time Secretary General of the Soviet trade unions, participated in many pro-League meetings in Paris, London and Geneva.

Some diplomats expressed the hope that this return to the practice of the mid-thirties may be the beginning of a great reorientation of the Soviet Government toward the UN and international co-operation. It is considered significant that, with Mr. Molotov's departure, everything was settled as if by magic.

In this connection, it is also pointed out that Intourist, famous Soviet travel organization which ceased almost completely its international functions in 1939, may be revived shortly, and the gate to the Soviet Union pushed somewhat ajar.

LAKE SUCCESS

The Eastern Unease

As the Second Part of the Third Assembly opening draws near, the facial expressions of the Soviet delegates are as inscrutable as ever. But close observers perceive considerable tension, and a definite expectation exists that changes will soon come about.

UNW learns from an unimpeachable source that, up to March 15, the Soviet delegation to the UN had received no new instructions. In debates, the Soviet delegation is limiting its interventions to "safe grounds" —resisting attacks against the Soviet Union, attacking the US, or hitting out at "imperialism" and "reactionary policies"—all of which any Soviet Foreign Minister would approve.

The Soviet delegation, however, has been hesitant to go beyond merely "holding ground." UNW was able to obtain from one Eastern source the following explanation:

"The Soviet and allied [that is, other Eastern-bloc] delegations are in a position somewhat similar to that in which the US delegation found itself last September and October at the General Assembly before the American elections. Like the US delegation at the time, we don't know what, if any, major changes in policy or personnel will come. There is, however, one important difference. The US delegation expected a change in government, but not in the basic foundations of foreign policy. We don't expect a change in government, but do see signs that suggest an important political reorientation.

"Vyshinsky and Gromyko know the UN better than any other Soviet delegates. This very knowledge makes them understand the UN's value and therefore they will be much closer to the international organization than others."

One of the most important Western delegates confirmed this view, particularly concerning Gromyko. "It was easier, at least in private conversations, to deal with Gromyko," he said. "In such conversations, he was often quite cordial and frank. The present delegate, Mr. Malik, on the contrary, never lets down his guard. He is rather like an actor—continually playing a role, both on stage and in his everyday life."

PARIS

De Gaulle's Dilemma

The feeling of triumph which in recent months pervaded the de Gaullist movement from top to bottom is slowly evaporating. The vision of the triumphal entry of General de Gaulle into the Elysée Palace as Chief of France, an event which his followers [but not UNW, see July, 1948] expected by April, 1949, once again has become a *Fata Morgana.*

General de Gaulle's failure is due to the fact that he founded his political movement on three assumptions:

1. That existing French political parties were bankrupt, despised by the people, internally disorganized; their leaders incapable of any far-reaching economic or social policy.

2. That anti-communism was becoming the most important element on the political scene, and therefore only a movement of pronounced rightist leanings could carry out a life and death struggle against the French Communist Party.

3. That international political trends would force the other Western states to demand a strong man at the helm of France; that, when the demand came the Western Powers, notably the US, would accept de Gaulle in spite of the fact that his 100 per cent nationalism would make him more difficult to deal with than other rightists.

De Gaulle was wrong in all three of his premises. The French political parties are not dead; the often buried Radical Socialist Party has miraculously climbed out of its grave and the others are holding their own in the oxygen tent of coalition. The only political force to have suffered serious losses from Gaullist assaults is the Christian Democratic Party (MRP), but it also seems to be regaining lost prestige by virtue of its position in a reasonably successful government. The economic outlook is much brighter than at any previous time, as the government at last has managed to effect far-reaching economic and financial improvements (see page 6).

As far as total mobilization against communism is concerned, the coldly scientific and highly efficient Socialist Interior Minister Jules Moch and Socialist Defense Minister Paul Ramadier are both hitting the Communists harder than anyone of their predecessors.

On the international front, the US and Great Britain seem pleased with French recovery, and are giving unmistakable signs of preferring the regular political machines of France to a one-man regime.

Many among the more intellectual supporters of de Gaulle fully understand the fallacy of his basic precepts. However, the mystical atmosphere of the de Gaullist movement is still so strong, veneration of the

Chief so deep, that no one has dared to speak to him frankly about it. A few more setbacks, and the General will have to be told that he must accept the fundamental political law of France, which is government by coalition; by middle-of-the-road, tolerant economic measures. French politicians will continue to be civilians, conditioned to be tolerant of occasional violations of law—not severe, saber-rattling generals. France will continue to be what it is, not a model corporate state.

No one knows what the General will do. If he continues his solitary, strange mystical appeal for power, he will fail. If he accepts coalition, he must with rigorous self-discipline travel the difficult and undisciplined road of parliamentary give and take. Meantime, as one brilliant Frenchman put it, "General de Gaulle is fishing on the banks of the Rubicon."

PARIS: For the first time since their middle-of-the-road governments became caught in the pincers of the de Gaulle extreme right and the Communist left, French high officials are breathing easily today.

The franc—notwithstanding inflation, bringing circulation to more than 1,000 billion—is winning what has appeared to be the impossible battle for popular confidence. As a corollary, the black market dollar and other currencies took a serious plunge of 25 per cent and more.

Farmers who have been hoarding US dollars and Swiss francs tenaciously — peasants who would not have been able to sleep at night if a week went by without bringing something to add to the store in the proverbial stocking — have stopped buying gold. More startling, they even from time to time now bring some of it to market.

Industrialists who had expected catastrophe and were interested in investments abroad only, are now beginning to discover that capital sen outside of France is not an unmiti gated blessing. Foreign investment pay little interest, are difficult to ad minister because of legal restrictions and constitute a permanent dange because — being often unauthorize and therefore illegal—they constant ly threaten discovery and penalty.

The population as a whole is wel coming with amazement, almost un belief, reduction in prices and ever increasing stocks in the shops. Foo supplies—which governments hereto fore could not, either by threats o entreaties, persuade peasants to brin to market—are now being freely of fered at reduced prices. The explana tion is simply that the money a farm er gets for his produce will agai buy the goods he wants.

The favorable development is ever more unexpected on the politica front. However, the Government i uneasy about its prospects in genera elections. For the weakness of th Third Force is that it cannot go t the polls as a compact body. In a general election, the parties which are a unit in the Government nor mally campaign individually, thu favoring the two extremes. There fore political strategists are currentl discussing ways and means of creat ing something new in French politic —an electoral cartel which woul make possible concentration of bal lots on chosen candidates. Such a arrangement, when completed, coul rather suddenly—too suddenly fo de Gaulle and the Communists, wh have been clamoring for elections— result in a popular rush to the polls

VIENNA

Inventions for Industry

Seventeen thousand applicants hav been waiting since the end of th war for the reorganization of th Austrian patent office to obtain letter of patent. This office has now bee reorganized and the first letters o patent, valid for 18 years, are bein issued. Austrian officials report tha many of the new patents are sensa tional and predict that they will soo gain recognition in world industry.

BRUSSELS

Spaak for President

Prime Minister Paul-Henri Spaak i being advanced by his politica friends and associates as the bes

YOUR *Magic Doorway*

TO EUROPE, AFRICA,

THE NEAR AND FAR EAST

Does business, study, or pleasure call you abroad? Whatever your reason, Air France enables you to travel speedily to 70 far-flung nations . . . for its world-wide network joins together five great continents. And once within your Air France Comet you'll enjoy a rare experience . . . the warm hospitality, thoughtful courtesy, fine food, vintage wines or champagne of France itself . . . the comfort of above-the-weather flying in luxurious, newest-type Constellations.

When you go . . . GO

AIR FRANCE

30 YEARS OF OVERWATER FLYING

DAILY FLIGHTS FROM NEW YORK . . . "Golden Comet" extra fare, all-sleeper flight every Friday. One flight weekly from Boston. Apply to your TRAVEL AGENT or your nearest Air France Office, 683 Fifth Ave., New York 22; 415 Boylston St., Boston 16; 1627 "K" St., N.W., Washington, D. C.; 37 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago 3; Esperson Building, Houston; 510 W. 6th St., Los Angeles 14; 210 Post St., San Francisco 8.

candidate for the presidency of the eventual Western European Union. It is pointed out that his record as chairman of the General Assembly and as president of the Political Committee of the UN in Paris are his best recommendations. Many consider Mr. Spaak's only major rival to be Winston Churchill.

LONDON

Big Among the Small

Prime Minister Clement Attlee's government, under Sir Stafford Cripps' leadership, is pursuing with mounting success a course whose aim is to achieve a minimum economic program that will make Britain the strongest economic factor among the weak countries of the world.

Britain is nearer the goal of economic recovery than it has been since the end of the war, but the outlook for housing, food and currency for traveling abroad is still quite bleak despite improvements in store displays and the lifting of clothes rationing.

The self-discipline of the British people is still admirable, but a few cracks are now becoming visible in this Spartan determination. One sees indications of a black market mood which, even so, is far from taking on the large-scale proportions of black market operations in other countries.

The Conservative Party is not gaining, is not even doing so well as a year ago. Mr. Churchill's exclusive leadership remains simultaneously its greatest asset and greatest liability.

Britain is getting slowly, and rather restively, accustomed to the fact that London proposes and Washington disposes. It is difficult for the British to reconcile themselves to the fact that—whether on the Marshall Plan or in committees in Paris or Lake Success—the role of the lion is no longer as impressive as it was in the past.

STOCKHOLM

Welcome to Arms

Those moderate Swedish classes from which the regime of Prime Minister Tage Erlander gains its majority are compelling the government to pursue a course of neutrality.

Even so, diplomatic circles both here and in Oslo now believe that a formula will eventually be found to reconcile the conflict between Swedish and Norwegian popular opinions, and to form a Scandinavian defense alliance that would satisfy the aspirations of all concerned without compromising any one of them.

Diplomats here say that Sweden is most strenuously opposed to the supply of American equipment to the Norwegian armed forces. While this opposition is said to be motivated by the desire to avoid embarrassment through such unmistakable material aid from the U.S., it seems that Stockholm would not be disinclined to sub for America and supply from her own factories all the arms Norway needs.

Even today, Swedish arms manufacturers—together with the Skoda works of Czechoslovakia—supply arms to all bidders—tanks to Kashmir, anti-aircraft guns to the Netherlands, explosives to Egypt, and so on. They are fully capable of taking care of Norway's needs, especially if Norway could obtain a dollar loan to pay for the supplies. Having received only $10,000,000 to date from Marshall Plan funds, Sweden hopes to augment its waning dollar stockpile in this round-about way. But Oslo said—no.

SANTIAGO DE CHILE

Dictator Arithmetic

The latest Paraguayan military coup has brought the number of military revolutions in Latin America to 100 in the last 20 years. Grave fears are expressed in the remaining democratic strongholds of Latin America over the seeming encouragement which dictators and would-be dictators are receiving from all sides.

AMRITSAR

American Story

The East Punjab Government has placed orders in the US for two power houses and grid substations, under the Nangal power project, costing $9 million (see Electricity International, page 52).

MOSCOW

Uncensored Reports

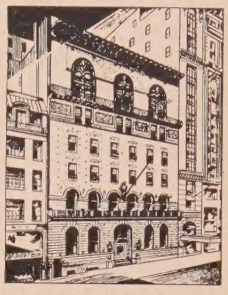
There is one place in Moscow where the Soviet citizen can find the Western point of view—as well as the Eastern — presented objectively. More-

WORLD CAPITAL

With the United Nations located here, New York City is truly the World's Capital.

ALL NATIONS

must have adequate headquarters in New York.



110 W. 57 ST.

has the facilities that a government needs for its diplomatic home.

44,000 Sq. Ft.

75 x 100

7 STORIES • FIREPROOF
BASEMENT • 3 ELEVATORS

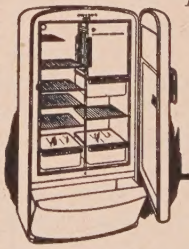
Immediate Possession

REREDEL ASSOCIATES

235 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 5-8448
FULL COMMISSION TO BROKERS

MONARCH SAPHIN

Special services and savings have made Monarch-Saphin the logical shopping center for visitors to New York from all the states, as well as South American and all other foreign countries.



Nationally Famous Merchandise Exclusively!

TELEVISION • RADIOS • PHONOGRAPHS • HOUSEHOLD ELECTRICAL APPLIANCES • REFRIGERATORS • WASHING MACHINES • DIAMONDS, WATCHES, JEWELRY OF EVERY DESCRIPTION • BICYCLES • SPORTING GOODS • ELECTRIC RAZORS • PHOTOGRAPHIC SUPPLIES • FOUNTAIN PENS • AND A THOUSAND AND ONE OTHER ITEMS.

Phone MUrray Hill 2-1470

"A New Type Department Store"

MONARCH-SAPHIN

56 West 45th St.••OPEN THURS. TIL 9
Branch Store
HEMPSTEAD, 120 Main Street

over, he can go there without being suspected of undue curiosity or even of seeking to establish contact with foreigners. As a matter of fact, he is encouraged to go there.

On official holidays a flag which is not a Soviet flag is hoisted outside this office where summaries of Vyshinsky speeches share space with those of US Ambassador Austin, Britain's Bevin and France's Schuman, and where each is presented without interpretation or invective.

This unique Moscow office is located in Apartment 16 at 15 Hohlovski Pereulok and is headquarters for the United Nations Information service to the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR and the Byelo-Russian SSR, one of 16 such UN information offices in the world. It is headed by Michael S. Vavilov, a Soviet citizen formerly in the consular service—having been stationed at San Francisco and Washington.

Like his five assistants, all citizens of one of the three countries served by the office, Mr. Vavilov has taken the oath of loyalty to the UN that every one of the 3,000 members of the Secretariat must take to perform their duties "with the interests of the United Nations only in view" and "not to seek or accept instructions . . . from any government or authority external" to the UN.

(For further UN Intelligence see page 61.)

April Analysis

THE BATTLE for world leadership (see UNW, August, '48) has entered into a period of brittle tension.

As of today, the Western world is taking the offensive on 10 battlegrounds:

1. North Atlantic. Signing of the Pact tying together the US, Canada, Western and Northern Europe.

2. Mediterranean. Bringing Turkey, Greece, the Middle East and Italy into the Western strategic set-up.

3. Iberian Peninsula. Portugal will join the Western complex, followed by Spain.

4. Germany. The building up of Western German industry and political organizations under whatever leadership as a bulwark against the East.

5. Japan. Development of an outpost on the Asiatic front.

6. Pacific Area. The strengthening of Pacific holdings and a strategic reorientation in the whole of Asia, taking into account the setbacks in China; efforts at restraining the Dutch in Indonesia to avoid the rebirth of co-operation between nationalistic and Communist movements; political and economic advances to India.

7. Western Europe. Continuation of the Marshall Plan.

8. Africa and Asia. Development within the UN of President Truman's "bold new program."

9. In the Orbit. Continued arming of the US. Co-ordination of US armaments with the Atlantic Pact nations. Increased US global intelligence activities.

10. On the Air. Increased use of the "Voice of America," with specific emphasis on humanitarian and religious motifs, to combat Soviet ideology.

In all these activities, the US has assumed top leadership. Minor conflicts within the Western bloc are not sufficient to disturb the pattern. Brittain, seeking a greater role in leadership, is most active in the creation of the Western Union and in effective integration of the Commonwealth into the Western world. Britain has resigned herself to the failure of her Middle East strategy, particularly because of the fiasco in Israel. There the US has taken over Britain's traditional primary role.

France has taken the lead in furthering the idea of a European Union. On Point 4 (Western Germany) France is in outright opposition to the US and Britain. And French leaders foresee for their nation a role as eventual major mediator between East and West.

Against these Western strengths and weaknesses, the Eastern bloc is engaged on six major fronts.

1. In the Orbit. Development of the USSR, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Albania into a closely integrated economic, political and military bloc, with co-ordination of resources, military weapons, training methods and intelligence.

2. Germany. Consolidation of the Soviet hold in Eastern Germany.

3. China. Consolidation of the Chinese Communist victories in order to close off North Asia as a possible second front against the Soviet Union.

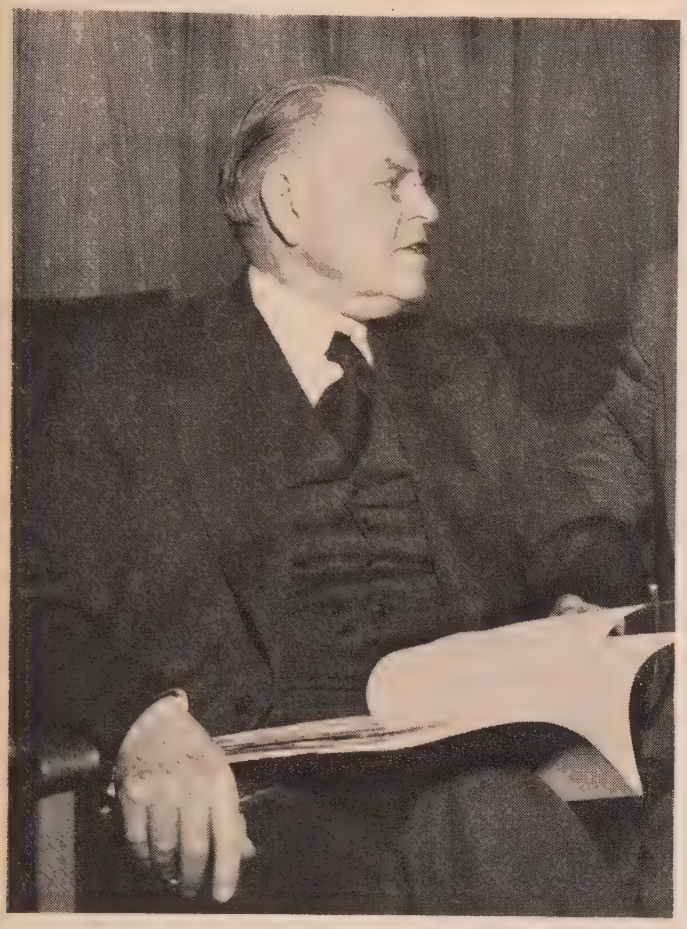
4. Southeast Asia. Establishing vast national revolutionary fronts—tying together Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and Indo-China.

5. Europe. Development through the Cominform (and other Communist movements) of political activity with the battle aim of reforming archaic landholding systems.

6. Africa and Asia. Revival of the anti-colonial movement.

Communism as a political weapon will continue to be employed everywhere. The Soviet bloc remains united by iron discipline. But soft spots do appear. Several eastern states other than Yugoslavia have shown an eagerness to find a route of rapprochement with the West. Proud peoples, they resent, at least mildly, the follower's role. Poles dream of becoming the first to achieve abundance under socialism. The Czechs feel themselves superior to Russians in technical and industrial fields. Only the Rumanians are faithful followers. And the shadow of Titoism weighs heavily over the whole bloc.

WASHINGTON'S SPOKESMAN TO THE UNITED NATIONS



A More Perfect Union

You can't win one world by undercutting the UN

By Ambassador Warren R. Austin

Chief of the US Mission to the United Nations

A FAVORITE PARABLE OF THE AUTHOR

■ A traveler through a rugged country asked his Indian guide one night, "How are you able to pick your way over these jagged peaks, by treacherous trails without ever losing your direction?" The Indian guide answered, "I have the *near look* and the *far vision.* With the one I see what is directly ahead of me; with the other I guide my course by the stars."

All of us today need the near look and the far vision in world affairs. With the near look we must perceive and avoid the hazards we face here and now: that is through the United Nations. With the far vision we must look far ahead to our final goal of world peace under law: that introduces World Federation.

THE United Nations more than ever is here to stay. Not a single parliament of any important power will take the responsibility of wrecking it and thus destroying all hope for the ultimate triumph of international law and justice. Of that I am personally convinced.

The measures being taken today to strengthen the security of nations —such as the North Atlantic Pact— are within the framework of the United Nations, and will increase the authority of the United Nations and not weaken it. The Pact of Rio by which the nations of this Hemisphere pledge themselves to regard

A More Perfect Union *continued*

an attack against one as an attack against all has already strengthened the United Nations by increasing the security of all the Member nations in one region. Likewise, the European Recovery Program has already contributed to the strength of United Nations by uniting war-weakened member states in a cooperative economic plan aided by the United States. It is working to increase production and trade.

Why do those practical actions and collective measures within the framework of the Charter principles build up the United Nations? Precisely because they build up the Members of this voluntary association so that they can act together more and more effectively to achieve the purposes of the Charter.

The United Nations was not designed to make the peace, but to keep it. We have to find a way of getting agreement on the peace settlements. One cannot get around that hard fact by trying to substitute for an existing voluntary association, a government.

To raise the issue of revising the Charter would only put the very same problem in a new form. It would not resolve it. We do not lack a suitable organization through which to co-operate. We lack the spirit and willingness to cooperate.

In seeking a practical solution of existing tensions and divisions which undoubtedly threaten security and peace, it will do no good—probably great harm—to separate the contending forces into competing blocs. That would not increase the prospects for peace.

The easy assumption often made that practically all countries except the Soviet Union and its satellites would join a new organization if the Soviet Union would refuse to consent to amending the Charter, is not justified. It is more likely that this would result in splitting the world into at least three blocs—a Soviet-led bloc, an American-led bloc, and a third group of those who, for geographical or other reasons, would hesitate to join either camp. Would countries such as Sweden, India, Iran, Turkey, or China be likely to join a new federation to which their neighbor, Russia, was opposed?

Even where the conditions are favorable and the need for federation is acute, there is reluctance to submit to federal governmental authority for the most limited purposes. Recently the Labor Party of the United Kingdom issued a pamphlet entitled: "*Feet on the Ground—A Study of Western Union.*" The burden of the argument is against federalism and in favor of voluntary co-operation of sovereign states.

"Thus an attempt to federate now," says this pamphlet, "would exaggerate divisions, excite mutual fear, distrust, contempt, and jealously and greatly favor centrifugal tendencies."

Recently also, in the pages of this magazine (October, 1948), Ernest Bevin, Foreign Secretary of that Labor Government, wrote: "I have never believed that the mere revision of the machinery would make an organization of this character work. It is a question of whether there is the will among the nations to make it achieve its purpose. If there is, it can. If that is absent, no amount of amending of the Charter can effect a cure."

The fact that these arguments are advanced by the Labor Party and by one of its major spokesmen is significant. It tends to deny the assumption which most World Federalists hold, that the leading European democracy is fully prepared to join a world Federal Government. If the United Kingdom is unready for *world* government now, what difficulties would federation face elsewhere?

Under the Charter of the United Nations as it stands we can organize as much collective defense against aggression as the peoples and governments are prepared to support. The well-founded belief that the unity and strength of the many can discourage aggressive adventures of the few can be put into practice *now*. Instead of going through a long-drawn out and contentious constitutional wrangle raising all sorts of other questions related to the pooling of authority and controls, collective defense arrangements can be made directly under the Charter.

The United Nations is an essential facility for dealing with threats to the peace as they arise. Through it the many can always produce a common front against the aggressor *if* they are prepared to take the responsibility of concerted action. Substitution now of a federation would unite fewer members and with less scope.

The major task of the United Nations is to substitute pacific settlements for armed conflict.

In the 20th century large nations have not attacked strong powers. They have gotten into war through third parties or by taking sides in smaller conflicts. And in the two world wars, the aggressors plainly miscalculated. They probably never would have taken the first step if they had known what a combination of resistance they would finally encounter.

The time to damp down the tinder-box situations is in their early stages. If world opinion insists upon nations bringing their disputes to the Security Council instead of using force or the threat of force to settle them, the chances are very good that they will do so. In practice, they have always done so since the United Nations was formed. But the temper of public opinion is the point. Public opinion must be brought to focus on the issues as they arise.

This is not speculation. In the very short history of the United Nations we have dealt with a number of cases, and in each of them we have promoted peaceful settlements and have prevented or reduced armed conflict. The cases of Iran, Syria and Lebanon, Greece, Kashmir, and Palestine all make points for this contention. At the very least the fighting has been confined and held under control, and the way to peaceful settlement charted. Under the spotlight of the United Nations, the Members are careful *not* to get caught in the role of the aggressor. Or, to put it positively, nations compete for a sympathetic world opinion by following the Charter and by using its facilities for pacific settlement in place of force.

In the United Nations the countries on both sides of the iron curtain do meet. There is disagreement —often violent argument—but there is also accountability. Every government has to ask itself when it is considering a policy or an action in international relations: "How will it look to others if the matter is brought into question in the General Assembly or the Security Council or the Trusteeship Council?"

Each one has to weigh its contemplated action against the possible international reaction which might be expected in the United Nations. So the number of peace-disturbing acts that are *not* finally committed must be very numerous.

What is it that excites this self-discipline? The force of public opinion. This is why I am disturbed when the importance and potential power of the United Nations is scoffed at. It clips the coin with which we are trying to buy peace—the coin of public opinion. Without the devotion of millions of people, willing to follow what is going on and to exercise their moral judgments on issues, delegates to the United Nations would be talking in a vacuum. It is only when the people are following the vital issues with a lively interest and a positive concern that the talk carries weight. Each one of us contributes to the total.

I hear someone say, "Who cares about public opinion? Especially a dictator?" Hitler did. He tested it very carefully to see if he could get a green light for his next moves. And he got it—he thought. He heard public opinion saying, "Why die for Danzig?" and "The Yanks are not coming." He got a false sense of security in the early stages when collective expression might have given him pause. Who doubts that he would have held his fire if the opinion of all the nations which finally resisted him had been brought to focus in the beginning and warned him that they would act together?

More recent history can be cited. It was world public opinion, focused through the Security Council, which exercised pressure on the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Iran. It did so. In Paris, when Mr. Vyshinsky's veto blocked the settlement of the Berlin issue, Marshal Stalin himself was impelled to issue statements seeking to alleviate or divert the public revulsion which followed that act.

The United Nations is the place where this can happen. There is no other. If people should repeat the same errors of judgment that led the aggressors in two world wars to miscalculate, the United Nations would reflect that error, as did the League of Nations. However, if the people understand the lessons they have learned, and stand for real collective defense against aggression, their red light will flash the signal in the United Nations.

Again, this is not speculation unsupported by experience. In spite of the dramatic episodes of disagreement in the Security Council, there is co-operation in the United Nations that is broader, and takes in more objectives, than during any previous period in history. There is prestige and moral power in the very large majorities by which the General Assembly determines major recommendations.

For example, the American suggestions for international control of atomic energy, improved, modified and greatly elaborated by the Atomic Energy Commission, became the United Nations' plan at the Paris Assembly by a vote of 40 to 6 and only 4 abstentions.

The fact that a few nations are not yet ready to participate in a world co-operative for the development and control of atomic energy does not mean to me that the cause is hopeless. That issue and others are revolutionary in their implications. The surprising fact is that there is already a broad acceptance of international responsibility, and a large majority already in agreement. We build upon that foundation with encouragement. It is from the vantage point of a good deal of unity on important matters that we move toward a more perfect union.

There is a curious contradiction of concepts of the modern nation. In much of the current discussion of the inadequacy of the United Nations vs. the practicality of world government, two diametrically opposite views about the possibilities of changing the attitudes and habits of peoples and the policies of national institutions are held.

By one concept it is assumed that public attitudes and institutional policies can be changed radically and rapidly—mostly by means of propaganda. From this premise it is argued that most nations could get ready to submit to a supra-national government in short order.

Some literature, ignoring our recent conversion from isolationism, asserts that the American People and

WORDS NOT WAR. This photograph—made last summer—showing Ambassador Austin, Dr. Ting-fu Tsiang of China and Andrei Gromyko of Russia (standing talking) illustrates remarkably well that the UN provides a jousting field short of shooting.

A More Perfect Union *continued*

Government should be ready any day now to take the lead in establishing a world government in which we would be satisfied to be in the minority. That is expecting a great capacity for quick changes in national patterns of thought.

Most schemes for world government emphasize that its authority would be limited. Its chief function would be to prevent armed conflict between nations. Consequently, the world government should have overwhelming military power—large enough to prevent any nations or probable combination from resisting its authority. Is this "limited power"? Limited by what?

Consider what this one basic requirement of world government would mean today in all its ramifications, and you will see that it could not be accepted without radical change of national outlook—in our own country no less than in others.

But by a contrary concept it is assumed that public attitudes and national policies are static and unchanging. Hence, the individual states must go on behaving in the future as they have in the past, and cannot be expected to prevent war through such a voluntary association as the United Nations.

I do not believe that changes in thought or policy are quick or radical. I do believe they are gradual and continuous. So I feel sure that it will take a long time to prepare peoples and governments of most nations for acceptance of and participation in, a world government. Simply for some people to declare that it is necessary now or we perish, does not make the radical changes required any more feasible. If we expect this future world government to be created by agreement and not by force or conquest, we will have to be willing to work patiently until peoples and governments are ready for it.

On the other hand, because I expect changes in public attitudes and national policies to be gradual and continuous, I have faith in the workability of the United Nations. I believe these changes are brought about more by the impact of actions, events, new policies than by propaganda and exhortation. Through the United Nations the members can act, can shape events and develop new policies. Always these acts, whether by individual nations, regional groups, or the overwhelming majority of the member states, are subject to the principles of the Charter.

Through regional agreements for collective defense and co-operative effort to restore economic and political stability, the climate of the world situation is being changed. The new situation requires changes in public attitudes and national policies. Weakness, which we know from experience is an invitation to aggression, is turned into strength which serves as a bulwark against disturbers of the peace. Attitudes and policies all over the world have to be brought into line with the changed facts.

When the door to aggression is firmly barred and the door to co-operative planning for mutual advantage is kept open, it is reasonable to hope that realistic statesmen will be inclined to use the open door rather than risk breaking their heads against the barred door. This is what I mean by acting, shaping events and influencing policy in new and peaceful directions.

Or, take the two Soviet propaganda lines which seem to account for its intransigence:

First, that the West will collapse, and second, that it will attack. The demonstration that the claims are false is bound to change attitudes and policies; and in he direction of co-operation.

The co-operative effort of the United Nations to take technical assistance to underdeveloped countries, suggested in the Fourth Point of the President's Inaugural Address, is the sort of action which will improve the climate of opinion and encourage constructive policies. The United Nations has the tools to work with.

This brings me squarely to the central point. It is this: We must deal with issues and opportunities as they arise. The action of our voluntary organization to form a more perfect union cannot await a new organization or futile attempts to overhaul the present Charter. To prevent war we must maintain peace today and tomorrow. The distant goal will be approached through our success with immediate solutions.

What t

Vyshinsky Move Means

Inside report on the man, the machinery, and the Stalin hypotheses that make Soviet foreign policy what it is

BY ELLSWORTH RAYMOND

■ Mr. Raymond's record: Service for five and a half wartime years as Research Analyst for US Embassy in Moscow; service for US General Staff, Military Intelligence, as Head of its Russian Economic Section; study as a Senior Slavic Fellow at Hoover Library of Peace, War and Revolution; authorship of the book *Soviet Preparation for Total War.* Mr. Raymond is a lecturer in Soviet Government in Washington Square College, N.Y.U.

If I were a Western diplomatist in Moscow today, writing a political report for my home office on the momentous change at the helm of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, this is what I would submit:

With the appointment of Andrei Yanuarovich Vyshinsky as Foreign Minister of the USSR, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet gave a new direction to the diplomacy of the USSR.

Never has the foreign portfolio of the USSR changed hands without a corresponding change in the tactics of Soviet foreign policy. What I know about Mr. Vyshinsky and the machinery of which he is a part inclines me to expect that history will repeat itself and Soviet foreign policy will again undergo a tactical change. There has been abundant speculation about an impending shift, to which I do not wish to add. I am less concerned with speculation than with weighing and analyzing the significance of the replacement of Molotov by Vyshinsky.

An incident during the recent Paris session of the UN General Assembly provides a clue to what this change may signify in practice. Its importance as a clue is fully appreciated by Foreign Minister Juan Atilio Bramuglia of Argentina, who was an intimate party to the episode. No Western diplomat had a better opportunity to observe Mr. Vyshinsky or developed closer intimacy with him than Dr. Bramuglia during his efforts to settle the cumbersome Berlin crisis.

At one stage of these efforts, settlement seemed particularly close. The conference in the Soviet Embassy lasted late into the night—but, when it broke up, it seemed that Bramuglia had gained Vyshinsky's consent to a compromise. The Russian delegate volunteered to announce it himself in a speech to the Security Council next afternoon.

But next afternoon Soviet Embassy aids came frantically searching for Dr. Bramuglia. Vyshinsky was desperate. The night before he had cabled Molotov to gain approval for his agreement—and the answer was no. The compromise was off. The Berlin crisis was thereby perpetuated far beyond a length profitable to Soviet diplomacy.

It may well be that Mr. Molotov's resounding "no," cabled to the conciliatory Vyshinsky in Paris, convinced the Politbureau of the validity of the American GOP's slogan—it is time for a change.

Unlike most cabinet posts in the Soviet Union, the Foreign Ministry has been headed by only three men throughout the 32 years of Soviet

THE EXECUTIVES—but not the planners—of Soviet foreign policy: Vyshinsky (right) with his deputies, A. A. Gromyko and V. A. Zorin.

The Vyshinsky Move *continued*

history. Maxim Litvinov held the office throughout the stormy middle '30's when the fiery ex-Menshevik Prosecutor Vyshinsky was convicting as traitors men whose fate fascinated the world. Within five years Yagoda was replaced by Yezhov and Yezhov by Beria at the head of the all-important NKVD, but no Foreign Minister was ever a defendant in a purge trial. This despite the fact that many of Litvinov's ambassadors and closest co-workers ended up in Lubyanka Prison or in the labor camps of the White North and the Far East.

This startling record suggests, first, that whoever is chosen as Foreign Minister is a highly trusted man expected to hold his job for a protracted period. Second, it reflects the strictly functional role the Foreign Ministry plays in the governmental structure of the USSR.

The Soviet State is a dual government—the Communist Party making all policies and retaining ultimate control over their execution, while day-by-day application of policies is assigned to the ministries and their subsidiary organs. The executive branch of the Soviet Government (just reduced from 59 to 48 ministries) is far from being powerless. But its policy directives come from the Communist Party or, to be more specific, from the Party's Central Committee.

The Party has, in effect, a behind-the-scenes government of its own—the various autonomous departments of the Central Committee. Thus, for example, the Ministry of the Armed Forces is duplicated by the Military Department of the Central Committee. The Foreign Ministry has its counterpart in the Central Committee's Foreign Department.

This virtually unknown agency of the Party is the most important foreign political organ of the USSR. The fact that it is completely disregarded in today's multiplex speculations goes far to show how little the outside world really knows about the internal combustion of the Soviet political machine.

For 20 years, between 1919 and 1939, the Central Committee's Foreign Department rather than the Narkomindel (Foreign Commissariat) was the unquestioned Foreign Office of the Soviet Union. For 10 years, between 1939 and 1949, the Foreign Office, now called Minindel (Foreign Ministry), has been, in the person of Molotov, endowed with a semblance of significance that was far beyond the actual scope of its influence.

But the Central Committee's Foreign Department remained the Minindel's supervising organ and the Foreign Department's head—not Molotov—was the top man in foreign affairs. Molotov's dual position, as a member of the Central Committee and as a subordinate of an equal colleague, became embarrassing—and not merely to Molotov himself—in Sept. 1947, when the Cominform was established as the militant arm of Soviet diplomacy.

When the Minindel and the Central Committee's Foreign Department clashed over policies and issues, as in the case of Tito in the summer of 1948, it seriously affected even the Politburo, which is the all-powerful executive organ of the Central Committee, and of which Molotov was also an important, veteran member.

Let us now trace the path of diplomatic notes through this Soviet labyrinth of dual government. I obtained the information which follows in frank conversations with Soviet diplomats who themselves bemoaned the subsidiary role of their Foreign Ministry.

Most diplomatic business is conducted by notes—and Soviet diplomacy is particularly dedicated to reducing all diplomatic exchanges to writing. The fact is that no note of whatever degree of importance is ever kept in the Foreign Ministry and no decision concerning an answer is ever made within the Minindel.

If the note happens to be of world-shaking importance, like the joint US-Franco-British protest on Berlin delivered July 6, 1948, it is immediately translated into Russian and rushed to the Politburo.

Translation and transfer of the note is the Minindel's sole function. The answer is prepared in the Politburo, the text is carefully drafted there, and sent to the Foreign Ministry which doesn't bother—or risk—translating it on its return. The Russian-language answer is handed by the Minindel official of appropriate rank to the representative of the foreign power of equal or similar rank. There is no slip up on protocol.

Most diplomatic notes—such as the one concerning the expulsion of the Soviet repatriation mission from Frankfort in February—are routed after translation to the Central Committee's Foreign Department. The answer is prepared and drafted in the Central Committee and sent back.

The Foreign Ministry again serves merely as a forwarding address.

Even a note of the most minor importance—say one concerning the fumigation of a Soviet ship in the port of New York (in the spring of 1948) is not handled by the Minindel beyond its customary transmitting functions. For reasons I could never satisfactorily ascertain, it is sent to the MVD, the Ministry of State Security (secret police), which is virtually a branch of the Central Committee as well as a government department.

It is in the peculiar nature of Soviet bureaucracy that answers to such minor notes are usually the longest in coming. An ancient feud between the Minindel and the MVD accounts for this. By the very fact of its global

---

Soviet Foreign Policy

The device: Peace for Russia
Division for her enemies
Friendship of the Common Man

The aims: Aggravation of the frictions that lead to war among the world's imperialist nations

---

spersal, Foreign Ministry activity avoidably escapes complete MVD pervision. Also the enforced con-ct of Soviet diplomats with hereti-l foreigners makes the Minindel spect *per se*. It is conceded that the inindel presents the one security oblem for which not even the VD has an apostate-proof solution. turn the diplomats resent MVD sistence on control over routine atters, such as courier trips, visa plications, immunity questions, arding of envoys and embassies, en permits to attend diplomatic arties.

As a result of this feud, the Minin-l is kept waiting for answers to cayune notes. Sometimes an answer ver comes. Meanwhile the diplo-ats are embarrassed, required to ok up lame explanations for the lay and so give at least the impres-on of exercising normal diplomatic sponsibility to the insistent foreign voy whose government is putting ressure on him for an answer to its te.

The straw-man role of the Soviet plomat is strictly in line with Sta-n's personal attitude to diplomacy an instrument and the diplomat a breed. In the unguarded mo-ent of a Communist Party Con-ess in 1921, Joseph V. Stalin ex-unded his theory of Soviet inter-ational relations and disclosed the le he planned to assign to its legi-mate organ, the Foreign Commis-riat. The statement was made in iticism of a series of articles by N. Chicherin, the former aristo-at, then Foreign Commissar.

"I consider that these articles of hicherin, which I have read care-lly, are nothing but words," Stalin clared. "Comrade Chicherin is in-ined to deny the existence of fric-n between the imperialist states, exaggerate the international har-ony of the imperialists, and to over-ok and underestimate the internal iction within these groups. Yet ese frictions do exist. They lead to ar. These frictions should form the sis for the activities of the People's mmissariat for Foreign Affairs.

"Comrade Chicherin makes a sec-d mistake," Stalin continued. "He derestimates the frictions which ist between the Great Powers and e national states they dominate."

Then Stalin proclaimed the reason r being of the Soviet Foreign Office: *"The whole purpose of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs is to ascertain these frictions, to make them the basis of its activities, and to maneuver within them."*

Stalin's attitude is further reflected in his apparent contempt for diplomats which he often voices, even to outsiders. When in the summer of 1941, a British Military Mission arrived in Moscow and paid its respect to Stalin, its leader remarked that relations would be somewhat strained in the beginning in view of the recent Russo-German pact. Stalin brushed aside this apprehension. "Oh, that pact," he said. "It was Molotov's idea. Diplomats often have bad ideas!"

He expressed contempt for the career diplomat in conversations with William Bullitt, Sir Stafford Cripps, W. Averell Harriman and, during a state dinner, to General Charles de Gaulle. When Gaston Palewsky, the General's chief of cabinet, was introduced to him as a prominent diplomat, Stalin said with a smile and a wink: "The world would be a better place if all damned diplomats were shot."

During that same period of East-West joviality, the Moscow grapevine recorded how, at a state dinner, a toast was proposed to the hard working diplomat. Stalin arose and followed it with one "to the spies, both absent and present."

For Stalin, Soviet international relations are conducted, not by the Minindel, but the Foreign Department of the Central Committee. I do not know who heads that department now but, until his recent death, its chief was Andrei Zhdanov. It may be that Molotov has succeeded his former superior in foreign affairs. It is scarcely likely that Vyshinsky has been given the mantle. The Politburo, which decides such appointments, would not be likely to violate its own principle of divide and rule.

Friction between the Minindel and the Foreign Department was frequent while Molotov was Foreign Minister. It was constant in the regime of Litvinov, another Central Committee stalwart. In 1941, two years after his departure from the Narkomindel, Litvinov was finally dismissed from the Central Committee after a clash with Zhdanov on foreign affairs. Apparently anticipating a German attack against the USSR, he had pleaded for a return to closer ties with Britain, France and the United States. Zhdanov answered brusquely that the Central Committee has decided otherwise. Litvinov persisted by quoting Lenin who, he said, did not hesitate to contradict the Central Committee in articles in *Pravda*.

PREDECESSORS and principal. This rare 1933 photo shows young Molotov, aging Litvinov and the then still-virile Stalin.

This was too much for Zhdanov. "Even if Litvinov's name begins with the same letter as that of Lenin," he said with heavy wit, "this doesn't mean that he enjoys the same privileges." The unqualified superiority of the Central Committee over the Foreign Ministry was thus established, even beyond the fleeting doubt created by Lenin's persistent shadow.

On the basis of this evidence it is unequivocally clear that the Soviet Foreign Minister is a mere instrument. His movements are manipulated, his foreign policy made, by the invisible Central Committee.

Here then are the permanent components of this Soviet foreign policy:

- Preservation of peace between the Soviet Union and the outside world.
- Prevention of alliances between states hostile to the USSR.
- Gaining of the support of the common man in other countries so that he shall influence his government to be friendly toward the Soviet Union.

The Vyshinsky Move *continued*

These aims of Soviet foreign policy have been basic since the early 1920's. If Molotov's removal is to be explained in rational terms rather than by esoteric conjecture, it can be attributed to his failure to maintain strategic continuity amid tactical flux in these major aims. For:

■ Instead of bolstering international peace, Molotov's activities led to the division of the world into two armed camps.

■ Instead of preventing the formation of anti-Soviet alliances, his diplomacy promoted the Western Union, expansion of the Rio de Janeiro compact and the North Atlantic pact.

■ Instead of winning the support of the man in the street in the non-Communist world, he alienated the affection of all but the most diehard groups of doctrinaire non-Russian Communists.

Molotov's greatest accomplishment in the diplomatic field, although not the one that will assure him lasting renown in the USSR, is the enduring bi-partisan foreign policy of the United States. As a less vital contribution, his penchant for expressive four-letter words — as short and strong in Russian as in English, tended to revolutionize the lingua franca of Soviet diplomacy.

Although useful for the cantankerous negotiations with the Nazis in 1939-41, the Molotov personality proved singularly unsuited for the conduct of diplomatic relations with the democratic west. A slow and tedious thinker, he is violently impatient and intolerant of others. Cellmates of his revolutionary days recall how Molotov used to spoil their fun at chess. Once he took a full half day to decide a move. His moves in the diplomatic chess game retained at least some of his early liking for the maneuver of Fabius.

He is cursed with a cruel streak, and compensates for an absolute subservience to Stalin with overbearing and callous indifference toward others. Minindel officials, called to his office to report on routine matters, ended up in the Lubyanka for no greater crime than their failure to give the answer Mr. Molotov wanted.

In contrast to Mr. Molotov's failures, here is Mr. Vyshinsky's impressive record of accomplishments:

1. He succeeded in focusing world attention on the perennial peace theme of Soviet diplomacy.

2. He counter-balanced the anti-Soviet alignment of the western world through the consolidation of a closely knit pro-Soviet bloc of Eastern European satellites.

3. He managed to keep Tito in the diplomatic line-up while Yugoslav military and economic ties with the Kremlin were effectively broken.

4. He promoted the success of Chinese Communists by diverting attention from the Asiatic East through a deliberate preoccupation with Europe, especially Germany.

5. He gained adherents for the USSR on a mass basis in broad non-Communist circles throughout Western Europe, the Middle East and India, with his repeated calls for peace and disarmament.

In other words, Mr. Vyshinsky did what he could to save Soviet foreign policy from total disintegration at the hands of Mr. Molotov. Probably most important of his achievements was his contribution to Aim Number 1 of Soviet diplomacy—the Soviet Union's permanent peace offensive. It was on September 18, 1947, at the UN General Assembly at Flushing Meadows, in his answer to General George C. Marshall's cold-war speech, that Vyshinsky first planted the effective propaganda charge of "western war-mongering."

I do not know whether, behind its façade of peace, the USSR is preparing for war. I do know that last year, five of the 10 Stalin prizes went to inventors of armaments; that Soviet military budget this y amounts to an unprecedented billions. Yet the Soviet Union ne ceases to claim for itself the role the peace-maker. If there is a culated maneuver behind this mo it is not apparent to the Russians the peoples of the Soviet orbit, o many others who hope for peace. them the USSR is the constant ch pion of international peace. Sho war come—tomorrow, next year at any time in the life of this g eration, it would—at least in minds of millions courted and c vinced by Soviet diplomacy—h been unleashed by the warmong against the advocates of last peace.

Whether the West likes it or n this is the greatest propaga achievement of the cold war. If idea was not invented by Vyshin (and I think it was), he must given full credit for being its m effective promoter.

In the Soviet Union, Vyshin enjoys unique popularity. As USSR's most effective spokesman the cold war, his militant sarcasm cherished from Byalistok to Vla vostok. His wit — incomprehensi and repellent thought it may be Western ears—at home is clas with that of the greatest Russian morists.

Far more remarkable than Vysh sky's exhibition of such Chekhov wit is the fact that Soviet leaders lowed him to gain a unique stand in a country where public acclaim strictly rationed. Vyshinsky's br popularity can be explained o with his personal popularity in t smaller circle within the Kre which alone makes or breaks care in the USSR.

It is possible to establish the v date at which Mr. Vyshinsky's car as his country's top-ranking di mat was made. It was August 1947, the day the Politburo nounced its decision to send Vysh sky rather than Molotov to the General Assembly in Flushing Me ows. I am convinced that it was conduct at that meeting—his succ in simultaneously putting the US on the offensive against the US establishing it as the great-po friend of peace—that qualified h 18 months later, for the fore portfolio of the Soviet Union.

The Vyshinsky Definition of Democracy:

"As much happiness and prosperity for as many people as possible whether they like it or not."

From an off-the-record speech in Paris, 1946

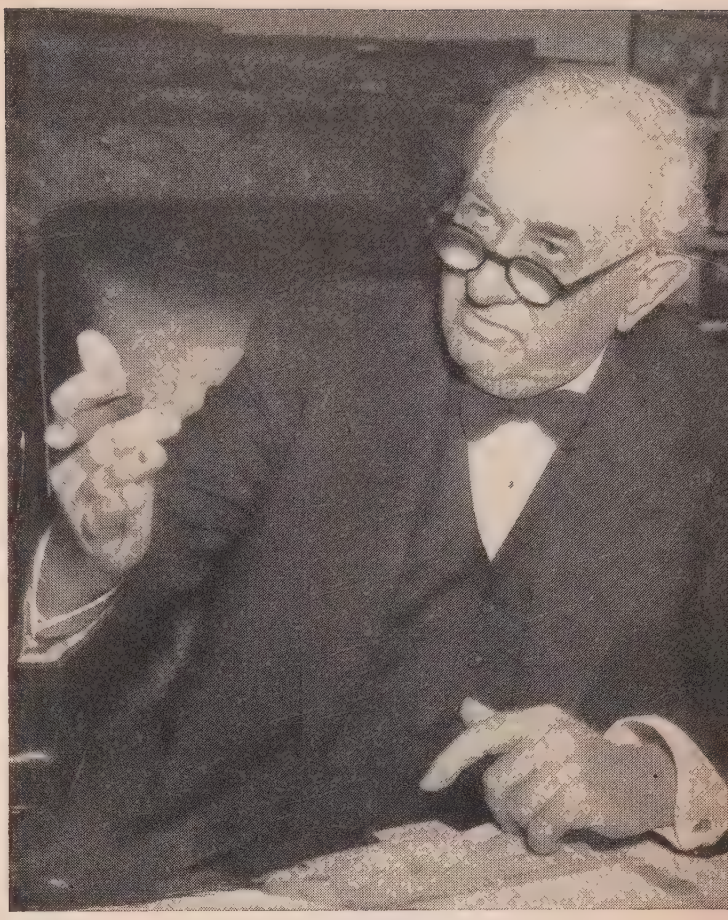
AN OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE PERSONALITY

OF THE SUAVE, CONTENTIOUS OLD MAN

WHO WILL GUIDE THE US SENATE

IN ITS CONSIDERATION OF LAWS

TO IMPLEMENT AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY



THE CONNALLY CIGAR, BOILED SHIRT, BOW TIE

BY OLIVER PILAT

Washington correspondent of the "New York Post"

That Senator From Texas

Tom Connally—Stuffed shirt or shrewd statesman

STRANGERS rarely have to be told that Tom Connally is an important US Senator from the South. He looks and acts the part. In size Connally approaches the classic American —200 pounds and six feet. He has pink cheeks and wavy grey hair. He smokes cigars. He wears boiled white shirts and gold studs, black bow ties and loosely-draped dark clothes. On the street, he pulls his western-senatorial black felt hat well down over his eyes.

On the Senate floor, Connally can deliver sonorous orations in the Claghorn manner, but he can also let his glasses slide to the tip of his nose and riddle an opponent with devastating mimicry and vitriolic wit. On occasion, he is indiscreet, but the question inevitably arises whether the indiscretion was calculated. You can never be sure with Tom Connally.

Some observers dismiss Senator Connally as a delightful stereotype; others consider him a caricature of Southern "statesman" basking in a global spotlight. Admirers—among whom are shrewd political observers—argue that he is neither. They see the 71-year-old Texan, now in his second tour of duty as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as a complicated public servant who knows the protective value of a smooth façade, and whose political performance is amazingly shrewd and successful.

This year the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is expected to pass on perhaps $8 billion in foreign aid programs, on continuation of the Marshall Plan for another 15 months and on outright military support of the Western European nations. Hence Connally's foreign policy outlook, his predilections and prejudices, are a continuing concern of peoples everywhere. Although Connally's political life and personal behaviour are no surface secret, UN diplomats, for example, tend to regard him as a mystery man in international af-

That Senator from Texas *continued*

fairs. For one thing, they find baffling his steam-calliope illiberalism at home and his symphonic liberalism in US foreign relations.

Even Connally's most ardent admirers cannot deny that the Senator's kit sometimes lacks the tools of statesmanship.

Last January, when Dean Acheson appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to discuss his qualifications to be Secretary of State, he was greeted by Connally in a lordly manner: "Sit down, Mr. Undersecretary."

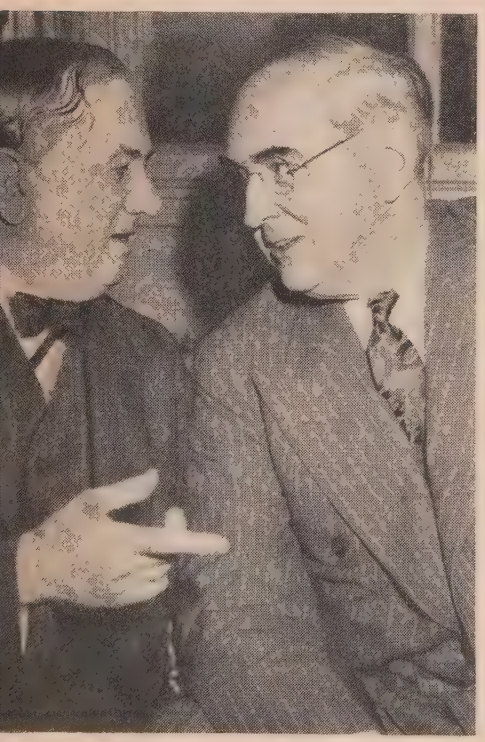
Spectators laughed. Connally growled: "Well, you are Undersecretary until you are confirmed!"

This compounded the blunder, because Acheson had been in private law practice for two years since resigning as Undersecretary of State. With Connally himself as chief interrogator, Acheson answered questions equably and convincingly.

After one-sided hearings, Senator Aiken (R.-Vt.) asked Connally if time would be given to persons opposing confirmation.

Connally chewed his words. Sure, sure, he said, there would be a chance for reasonable opposition, "but we are not going to waste a lot of time listening to cranks and crackpots."

BIPARTISANS: Connally and Vandenberg get together on preparedness, 1939.



The committee met again the next day, in secret session. Two letters from rabid isolationists opposed to Acheson were decently filed. No other opposition testimony was heard. Acheson received a unanimous 13-0 vote of confidence from Connally's committee.

It is reasonable to suppose the quick non-partisan approval of Acheson was due in part to smooth behind-the-scenes operation on the part of the Foreign Relations chairman. What he may lack in grasp of data seems compensated for by his command of politics. It isn't that Tom Connally knows so much. It is his knowhow that makes him a Senator to be reckoned with.

Connally is, by his office, a promoter of internationalism, but he is also a nationalist patriot of a brand almost too florid for any but the Texas taste. He is a man who flaunts Americanism flamboyantly—like the scarlet cloak of a swashbuckling cavalier.

During the Paris Peace Conference in 1946, headquarters of the US delegation was the Hôtel Meurice. Arriving there early one morning, an American diplomat heard a tremendous uproar in an upstairs corridor, and came on Connally, suspenders dragging, hair tousled, shirt unbuttoned, shouting loudly: *"Oui-oui, oui-oui!"*

Nobody else could be seen in the corridor. The puzzled diplomat offered his assistance. But Connally kept on shouting: *"Oui-oui, oui-oui!"* In time he explained:

"It's just that my waiter doesn't speak English, and I don't speak French. So when I'm ready for breakfast, I come out here and yell '*oui-oui*,' until he shows up . . . Oh, there you are, '*oui-oui!*' " He turned and greeted the waiter who came smiling down the hall, bent under the Texan's heavy breakfast tray.

Tom Connally is no more the man to be intimidated by domestic groups than by a foreign language. Several years ago, Anna Lord Strauss of the League of Women Voters came to criticize the Senate's exclusive treaty ratification power, which makes the Connally committee such a strategic bottleneck. She complained this made impossible a "dynamic foreign policy."

The Senator's reply was a mark of courage if not of chivalry: After an emphatic denial of Miss Strauss' charges, both overt and implied, he concluded: "I'm so tired of people insulting the Senate and House. It's got so a lot of minority groups think they can come up and bull-doze things through." The League of Women Voters, one must keep in mind, has an influential membership of 93,000, even though less than 2,000 of those members live, vote and cast their influence in Texas.

Though in foreign affairs he hews pretty well to the administration line, on the questions of rights of minorities and organized labor Connally reflects Southern prejudices. It is largely because of these domestic views that he is considered by some to be less than an ideal spokesman for the US abroad.

In the "do-nothing 80th Congress" so frequently denounced by President Truman, Tom Connally voted with the administration on only 62 per cent of the controversial roll calls, but he continued to see eye-to-eye with Senator Vandenberg (R.-Mich.), who replaced him for two years as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

When Henry Wallace made his 1946 Madison Square Garden speech criticizing US foreign policy, Connally was in Paris. To politically-sophisticated Parisian reporters, he scoffed at the speech, ignoring the issues it raised simply on the ground it was aimed at a labor audience.

He predicted flatly that the mass of the American people wouldn't pay any attention to the speech. "Why, down where I come from," he added, "the CI and O [he frequently refers to the CIO in this fashion, as though it were a railroad]—or was it the AF and L?—is always going to boycott me, but it doesn't amount to anything. . . ."

However, organized labor is getting stronger in Texas, and there have been some interesting changes in that state's congressional representation in recent years. In 1946, nonetheless, without a personal appearance or a speech in his home state because of his UN duties, Connally was elected to a fourth Senatorial term—by 336,931 votes to 43,750 for his Republican opponent.

One source of the Senator's political strength is the friendship of big oil companies. During the 1948 Democratic convention, Connally led an unsuccessful fight against a plank affirming federal ownership of tideland oil. And he was author of the "Hot-Oil" Act, keystone in a series of measures which have enabled the oil industry to restrict US production to demand.

Ever since he sponsored the repressive Smith-Connally anti-strike law in wartime, Connally has supported anti-labor bills. He voted against admitting displaced persons to the US and he joined the crusade of his aging colleague, Senator McKellar (D.-Tenn.), against the Tennessee Valley Authority, symbol of public power development in the US. In 1938 he led a successful Southern filibuster against a federal anti-lynching bill.

"I'm against lynching," he explained. "It's murder. But I am also opposed to lynching the Constitution of the US. If I must answer in a shaking hand and trembling voice every demand that comes from a little group, I will go back home and try to farm one year and next year go on relief."

Texas is famous for having contributed more men per capita to the armed services than any other state, and Senator Connally is never in doubt on an armament issue.

"It is imperative the US maintain an adequate army, a superior navy and a superlative air force," he told the Senate in 1946.

Connally became chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for the first time in the summer of 1941, four months before Pearl Harbor. When the Japanese struck, the late President Roosevelt got him on the phone and gave a detailed account of the disaster, ending: "That's all."

"That's all!" roared Connally. "Hell's fire, didn't we do anything to them?"

Shortly after the start of the World War II in Europe, Connally opposed a neutrality proposal which would have prohibited the sale in the US of poison gas, flame throwers and other weapons. He told a story about a Southern Senator who boasted before the Civil War that the South "could lick the Yankees with cornstalks." After the war, the Rebel Senator was chided about the boast and replied: "Well, my friend, I did say that, but the trouble was the damyankees wouldn't fight with cornstalks!"

EARLY TRUCE in the cold war: Connally shakes hands with Molotov after UN agreement to give full data on military forces in occupied areas, 1946. The cigar is evident.

THE WORLD STATESMAN, no black hat, greets the press on deck of Queen Elizabeth on arrival from Paris, 1946. On his left, Mrs. Connally. Between them, the cigar.

Twice in his own life, Tom Connally got close to war. During the Spanish war, he was turned down by the Army as too thin, but he got into uniform through the help of a friendly doctor, only to fall ill in Florida, just as his outfit was about to sail for Cuba.

In World War I, Connally resigned his House seat to accept a captaincy, but once more he fell ill, and had to be left behind when his division sailed to France. The Senator occasionally remarks he has been in more wars and seen less fighting than any other American he knows.

The Connally sense of political organization cropped up at an early age. In 1897 as a law student at the University of Texas, he discovered no holiday was allowed on Texas Independence Day. He and some cronies acquired an old brass cannon and between resounding orations shot off salutes until university authorities weakened and authorized a holiday which is still celebrated there.

Thomas Terry Connally was born in McLennan county, Texas, on August 19, 1877. Like other Texans, notably Attorney General Tom Clark whom he is said to have pushed into the cabinet, Connally soon adopted "Tom" instead of Thomas, and has been known that way, personally and politically, for decades.

Tom's father, Jones Connally, was

That Senator from Texas *continued*

a fairly successful but not wealthy farmer, and as a boy Tom knew what it meant to slop the hogs and drive cattle to water. Father Connally was determined his boy should become a lawyer, but Tom worked for six months on the old Waco (Tex.) *Evening Telegraph* during his Baylor University undergraduate days and wanted to become a newspaperman.

Father won. Young Tom Connally became a lawyer, sandwiched service in the Texas legislature between private practice and work as prosecuting attorney for Falls County, Texas.

He was elected a Congressman in 1918 and, through the influence of his fellow-Texan, John N. Garner, later Vice-President, was soon assigned to the important House Foreign Affairs Committee. He moved up to the Senate a decade later, the only new Democrat to win a seat in the upper chamber against the Hoover GOP landslide.

Woodrow Wilson and later Franklin D. Roosevelt have been undimmed heroes to Connally. One of his most ferocious tirades was directed at Senator Nye for charging that Wilson had falsified World War I records. "When the history of this republic shall be written," thundered Connally, "Woodrow Wilson's titanic figure will tower above the puny pigmies who now bark at his memory as Pike's Peak towers above the fog of an Arkansas swamp."

A loyal administration man, Connally fought for the full Roosevelt foreign program before and after Pearl Harbor: selective service, troops to Iceland, the destroyer-naval bases deal, arming merchant vessels and lend-lease for Britain and Russia.

YOUNG SENATOR and Confederate delegation on Capitol steps, 1932. No cigar.

A HARD-BOILED CO-OPERATOR FOR PEACE

Where he differed with Roosevelt was on domestic issues like the NRA and the Supreme Court reorganization bill, but even in this field, jollying persuasion by FDR watered down the Texan's antagonism.

On the day in 1941 when he assumed chairmanship of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Connally made a statement which he still supports: "We don't desire war, but the world might as well know we have rights and possessions for which we are ready to fight if necessary."

Some of his earlier comments as chairman verged on the indiscreet. Early in 1942 he said bluntly that Argentina had better reconsider its friendliness toward the Axis or change its President. The State Department in apparent horror stressed immediately that it did not endorse the statements of private individuals, but the impression had been made, and it may have had some effect.

That same year Connally said it was "unfortunate" that Wendell Willkie had created second-front headlines in Russia. In 1944, he expressed dismay over a tendency in US government circles to exempt Emperor Hirohito from intended punishment for his share in Japanese war atrocities.

In November, 1944, Connally said: "If we are to secure preservation of world peace—and that includes our peace—we must pay the price. That price is our co-operation with other nations of like mind." He has never modified that view.

Connally has always been friendly with reporters. As a member of the US delegation to the San Francisco Conference which organized the UN, he spilled the beans prematurely on the German surrender in a casual chat with an AP correspondent. Gradually he learned to keep his guard up. In time he actually became "secrecy conscious." Returning from the first session of the General Assembly in London in 1946, he lectured his colleagues on the necessity for discretion.

"What we write and say will be followed around the world," he declared. "We cannot in our own name afford to be irresponsible."

Connally's chief contribution to US foreign policy has been in cementing Senate bipartisanship. In securing Senate ratification of the UN charter with only two dissenting votes, he urged and obtained a "vote that will be heard around the world."

Many persons, Connally told the Senate, remembering what happened to Woodrow Wilson's plans for an international association of nations, now doubted American stead-fastness. "They know the League of Nations was slaughtered here in this chamber," he declaimed, removing his glasses and waving them in a wide circle. "Can't you see the blood?—There it is on the wall!"

In September, 1945, Connally said at a Pan American Dinner in New York that he favored "a world security system." He added: "In the words of Briand, the great Frenchman, 'there cannot be one peace for America, one for Europe and one for Asia, but one peace for all the world.' "

So long as Russia, Great Britain and the US continued "to adjust differences as they arise, there will be peace," he pointed out.

Connally's attitude toward Russia, has mirrored administration views. Reporting to the Senate on March 13, 1946, he expressed the conviction that Russia wanted peace. It could get it by "co-operating with the UN," he declared, urging US firmness "tempered with understanding and tact."

"Russia has a right to any form of government which it sanctions," the Senator said. "That right does not extend beyond her own boundaries.

"The US and all the other members of the UN have the same in-

alienable right to adopt their system of government and their economy without interference or intervention of any other power.

"The US will resist aggression by arms. It will also oppose aggression by economic or political pressure or maneuver.

"Let us hope that in the mutual recognition of international rights of all nations under the charter a system of mutual responsibility and understanding may grow and develop."

Though the 1949 Tom Connally, grave and sometimes subdued of manner, qualifies as a statesman. colleagues still treasure anecdotes of his more rough and tumble days. He once told a State Department official to "take your treaty out of here before it gets kicked in the pants."

In a verbal tangle on the Senate floor with Sen. Bridges (R-N.H.). Connally once snorted: "If the Senator from New Hampshire would only approach these matters with an open mind instead of an open mouth."

Guilty of long-winded oratory himself, Connally has not hesitated to chide his colleagues for the same fault.

"Draco wrote his laws in blood." he said on one occasion. "The Senate writes its laws in wind."

A golf player of sorts, Connally once objected in Texan adjectival style to Senators who "make labored, uninteresting, dull, inane, colorless speeches, then rush out to play golf. Good sportsmanship should urge they stay and take their punishment, too."

To the hectic 1948 political campaign, Tom Connally made a dual contribution through behind-the-scenes work in Texas which kept the state safe for the Democratic party, and in the form of a pointed warning several weeks before the election that "some Dewey supporters want to inject partisanship in US foreign affairs."

The American people "will not tolerate that," Connally said bluntly.

The Texan has been married twice. His first wife was Louise Clarkson, daughter of a wealthy and prominent family in Marlin, Tex., where he practiced law before entering Congress. She died in 1935. Their only son, Ben, is now a lawyer in Houston, Texas.

For years, Tom Connally was a protege and friend of his senior, the late Sen. Morris Sheppard. In 1942, he married Sen. Sheppard's widow. The present Mrs. Connally is somewhat absent-minded and occasionally answers the telephone as "Mrs. Sheppard." When that happens, Senator Tom guffaws in amusement.

The Senator collapsed during a Reserve Officers Association banquet in Washington on February 16, 1940. After a couple of weeks stay in Walter Reed Hospital, he got a clean bill of health. Nowadays, he feels in pretty good shape.

At 71 (he will be 72 on Aug. 19), Tom Connally remains a lively, salty statesman with a fondness for football and baseball games. He still dances at parties, likes to invite friends for breakfast, his favorite meal of the day, at which he serves solid steaks, chops, ham and eggs.

In the field where he classes as an expert, the Senator is optimistic. Recently he said he expected Russia to continue to try "to grab anything in sight, through diplomatic means or otherwise." But he added, just as objectively, that he discerned no prospect of war "in the foreseeable future."

CONVENTIONEER: CONNALLY CHEERS GARNER, 1936. NO CIGAR.

The Backside of Colonialism

THESE ARE THE WAYS OF LIFE OF MOST INDONESIANS—THE LABOR AND FOOD AND RITUALS OF MEN WHO WILL, INEVITABLY, BE FREE

By the Public Information Department of the United Nations

PUBLIC PREPARATION OF FOOD IN KOTA-GEDE. THE NAKED BOY IS EATING FROM A WOODEN TRENCHER

THE HARDJOPARVIROS, a Javanese farmer's family, brings small sheaves of rice to be blessed by the priest (see top right).

FEEDING LIVESTOCK. Farmer Hardjoparviro is feeding waste cabbage leaves to the fish he raises for food in this small pond.

HARVEST BLESSING is a solemn ceremony performed in the fields. The priest's haircut is modern, his jacket machine-made.

NEIGHBORHOOD CONCLAVE. Mr. Hardjoparviro's friends gather at his house to smoke, spit and argue the day's issues.

OFF TO MARKET. Shank's mare—and definitely female—carries produce to the market. Mrs. Hardjoparviro is in the line.

BY THE EDITORS

The Indonesian Story

WHEN, during World War II, Queen Wilhelmina foreswore for her government future exploitation of Netherlands colonies, her promises were accepted at face value by the Indonesians, then under Japanese occupation.

But the face that Indonesians put on such words as, "Colonialism is dead," was not perhaps the same face that the Dutch Government saw on the same statement. Particularly to those dissident, generally educated, frequently leftist Indonesians who had been inciting their fellows to nationalism for a decade, the promise meant immediate postwar freedom.

Acting on the assumption that colonialism *was* dead, the ardent nationalists, at the war's end, established a Republic of Indonesia. When Dutch authority returned to the islands, the Republic resisted re-establishment of the colonial status—and successfully, in parts of Java, Sumatra and Madura, originally over 215,000 square miles with 60,000,000 inhabitants. Thereafter, for three years, it maintained a government which functioned with praiseworthy efficiency. The Indonesians will, inevitably, be free. They have proved their right to fashion their own independence. They need not accept it from the Dutch as and when their erstwhile masters please.

No thanks to the Dutch. With political and economic blockade and two major military attacks, the Dutch Government has done all that its power and world public opinion would allow to smother the infant state. The Security Council, deeming the military action a threat to world peace in a region where Ceylon, India, Pakistan, Burma and the Philippines had received their independence without conflict, finally achieved on January 17, 1948, a delicate truce which the Dutch ended 11 months later. On December 19, Dutch paratroopers captured the Republic's capital of Jogjakarta and its leaders. They still hold both, despite Security Council orders to the Netherlands Government that it release the men and withdraw from their capital.

During the three years that the Republic was under siege by Holland, its government proved strong enough to put down—only last summer—a Communist uprising which, if successful, could have grievously disturbed the East-West balance in Southeast Asia. The Dutch Government thus made its military the successful collaborators of unsuccessful Communist rebels. No one can deny that it has, thereby, strengthened in Asia that propaganda which, in Europe, Holland aided by the US, Canada, and its neighbor states, is struggling to overcome.

The Dutch Story *with pictures of colonialism*

THE Netherlands Government has ruled over the Netherlands Indies with justice, wisdom and leniency for more than a century. It has brought the inhabitants of those islands to such political stature that they are today able and eager to assume equal status with the Dutch as citizens of independent and sovereign states.

When Queen Wilhelmina, and later members of her government, promised these boons to the Indonesians, she was acting under no pressure except from her own and her government's realization that colonialism had run its course and that the future welfare of both Holland and the Indies would be best served by their inclusion within a single federal union.

Certainly Queen Wilhelmina was not acting under pressure from those elements which had incited civil war in Indonesia in the Thirties. The men who established the so-called Republic of Indonesia are, largely, representatives of those groups.

It must be understood that there is no conflict, even no disagreement, between most Indonesians and the Dutch. The entire territory held by the Republic is but two-ninths of the area of the islands; the inhabitants "ruled" by this regime before re-establishment of Netherlands control last December number but three-eighths of all Indonesians, who total perhaps 78,000,000.

It must be understood, further, that no truce was ever established between the extremists of Jogjakarta and the Government. Whatever the surface evidence of the Republic's acceptance of the truce terms, the Dutch Government has documentary evidence to prove that its more violent adherents used the truce merely as a cloak for terroristic activities. Thereafter, instead of engaging in overt warfare against Dutch troops, they turned to destroying Dutch property, burning Dutch homes, murdering Indonesians who were friendly to the Dutch.

In the second week of December, 1948, such violations of the truce reached a total of 350. At that time, too, 11,000 Republic guerrillas were operating in Dutch territory, and the Dutch Government had evidence that large-scale activity was to be instigated on January 1, 1949. It was only then, and under the provisions of Article 10 of the Renville Agreement which had established the truce, that the Dutch government acted.

As soon as the necessary military action was completed, the Netherlands undertook again to speed the establishment of an Indonesian Federal Government. So great is the progress being made that it is now planned to hold elections this coming fall and fulfill by January 1, 1950, for *all* Indonesia, the Queen's forward-looking wartime promise.

THE COLONIAL. A DUTCH GOVERNMENT PHOTO OF AN INDONESIAN OIL WORKER AND HIS FAMILY AT HOME

resumably more attractive face

A VISUAL STATEMENT OF ADVANTAGES DUTCH RULE HAS BROUGHT TO INDONESIA—IN PHOTOS RELEASED BY THE NETHERLANDS GOVERNMENT

DUTCH PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE. At this hygiene center Indonesian mothers are taught proper methods of child care.

NO SHANK'S MARE. Bicycles are popular, their ownership a sign of prosperity. These riders work in the refinery at left.

DUTCH REFINERY. Indonesians, like the family man at top of page, work in great plants like this one at Pladjoe, Sumatra.

Tears for Ten Years

HOW A FRAIL JEWISH MOTHER FOUND

AS A 14-YEAR-OLD SON

THE BABY BOY SHE HAD FORSAKEN TO SAVE

BY NADIA LOURIE

A correspondent in Israel

"ARE you my Peter?" a slight dark-haired woman asked each fair boy amongst the crowd who surrounded her. Her large dark eyes anxiously scanned their faces. There was no response from the boys, but they eyed her ever more curiously.

This was a great day at the Onim school—a red letter day. In the whole two years of the school's existence it had happened only once before—such a miracle: a "mother" come to claim her son.

Onim lies near the picturesque village of Kfar Saba, barely an hour's drive away from Tel Aviv, Israel's capital. The pupils of Onim are international. They come from every country in Europe and some from Asiatic countries. They speak many languages, but one thing they have in common: they all have no parents. Their parents have been killed in the war, or burned or tortured to death by the Nazis, or simply lost when they were forcibly taken off to concentration camps.

Most of the children have themselves grown up in concentration camps. Many have reached adolescence without being able to read or write. Others received sketchy schooling in DP camps.

Some have been hidden by Christian friends in Europe and have grown up as Christians. Some had to be "bought" back from the Christian foster parents, who had originally taken them in because they regarded them as a source of income—sending them out to work in the fields or in the factories. In one instance, a "Christian" Polish peasant demanded $1500 before parting with a little Jewish girl in his care. This little girl is now at Onim. She has turned out to be a most gifted child with a particular bent for writing.

Most of the Onim children have psychological problems in addition to being undernourished and in poor health. So, the teachers are chosen carefully. Some teachers have themselves been inmates of European concentration camps and have an inside knowledge and a special sympathy for the children's problems.

But now, a miracle had occurred—a parent had come to claim a child. The rumor of this great event spread through the school like wild fire. From all directions children came running onto the front lawn—just to see what "a mother" looks like.

It soon became known that this mother was looking for a 14-year-old boy whom she had last seen when he was 4 years old. So, now all the 14-year-old boys were crowding around her. They didn't dare to speak to her. They just looked.

Presently one of the senior teachers came running from the sports field. Someone had gone to fetch him. David Hagodol—in Hebrew "the Big David"—was thus called to distinguish him from all the little Davids in the school. His real name was David Aaronowsky, but everyone called him David Hagodol, until even letters began to arrive addressed to him as "Mr. Hagodol."

Big David had once had a family and a shop in Poland. When the Nazis came, he and his family were taken to a concentration camp. His only child, a boy of 9, was shot before his eyes. His wife died of typhus in another concentration camp. Years of concentration camps all over Germany and further years in DP camps had given Big David a fairly comprehensive understanding of DP children. He began to work with them and in 1946 reached Palestine with a group of 50 orphaned children on one of the "illegal" ships. They were deported to Cyprus which was their last camp. Months later they were allowed to enter Palestine. Now, he looks upon Onim as his home and the children of Onim as his children.

Big David dispersed the children with quiet authority and grasping the little woman by the arm, led her gently but firmly to the dining room.

The dining room, stretching across the whole length of the main building, was also the main meeting hall of the school. Beautifully panelled in oak, with modern pictures decorating the walls, it was cool and fresh inside. The children had just finished their lunch and the dining room was empty except for a few youngsters who had remained to clear up. A tiny tot of 4, breathing heavily with self-importance, was helping a buxom young girl in the corner to polish some knives and forks.

AT ONIM, Israel Mereminski, vocational director for Histadrut, confers with a group of orphan boys in Peter's school.

"It's nice in here," said Peter's mother gratefully, as she sank wearily down onto a chair and leaned her elbows on one of the plain refectory tables which lined the long room on both sides. Big David asked the young girl who was cleaning the silver to bring her some lunch. "I'm not hungry," she protested weakly, but when the simple wholesome food was brought, she didn't resist but ate quickly and hungrily.

"Your Peter has gone down to the village with some boys," he explained to her, "one of the farmers offered them a ride in his cart—they'll be back in a few minutes." Some women teachers came in and joined their table. They all had known that she was coming and they wanted to meet her. They talked about the weather and about her journey from Haifa, about the crowded buses. . . . It all seemed so natural and everyday. Only the children's faces at the windows, staring in from outside—their noses squashed flat against the glass—were a reminder that this was something out of the ordinary.

Between mouthfuls of food Peter's mother told her story in short nervous, often disconnected sentences, which only made sense afterwards, when Big David pieced the story together for the other teachers.

Peter's mother had married a Christian German. He left her after the famous Nuremberg decrees, when the Nazis ordered that all mixed marriages between Christians and Jews be annulled and that all Christian Germans divorce their Jewish partners. She had been left alone to care for her two children.

First she hid them with some Christian friends while she took a job as a nurse. For a while she succeeded in evading the Nazis who were rounding up all Jews and sending them off to concentration camps. But, eventually, she was caught and sent to Auschwitz and later to Bergen Belsen — two concentration camps in Germany famous for the torturous "experiments" carried out on prisoners, and the huge ovens in which millions of Jews were burned.

Last time she saw Peter, he was 4 years old. She had come to peep at him through the door, without speaking to him. He didn't see her. That was for safety—so that no suspicion should be cast on the children. Should anyone have guessed that they had Jewish blood, they would have been sent off to almost certain death.

Three days before the American Army liberated Bergen Belsen, one of the women Kommandants, forewarned about the imminent approach of the Americans, decided to enjoy one last "sadistic fling." Several women prisoners were marched out into the courtyard and whipped savagely. Such beatings were common in these camps. This time, however, the uniformed lady Kommandant jumped on those who fell and trampled them with her little feet, digging the heels of her boots well into their backs. Peter's mother was among those who fell—her spine was punctured in three places.

So, on being liberated, Peter's mother was put into a coat of plaster of paris which covered her whole body, and in which she had to lie on her back for 12 months.

Only after these twelve months had she recovered sufficiently to be able to move. Then started a long, disheartening search for her children.

At one time, she became convinced that they were dead. Suddenly, news reached her that her daughter, who had grown into a girl of 17, was in Palestine. The daughter had never ceased looking for her mother, making enquiries through all refugee institutions, till she succeeded in locating her. With the girl's aid the mother finally reached Israel.

The daughter was then in the Palmach—the Commandos of the Israeli army—and supported her mother on her army pay. Together they continued their search for Peter. From one reception center to another journeyed the mother, from one bureau of missing persons to another. There was no trace of him. As a last hope, the mother put an advertisement into "Davar," a Hebrew daily. One of the Onim teachers saw the notice and Onim wrote to her. That is why they had been expecting her. . . .

At this point a tall lanky boy with very fair hair appeared in the doorway. "Is that He?" exclaimed the mother, "Ach, is it possible? How tall he is." Everyone in that room almost stopped breathing as the boy approached. Led gently by the hand by one of the teachers, he didn't at first recognize his mother.

During the moving scene that followed the boy and his mother were left alone. Instinctively, all the others moved away from the table and walked to the other end of the long room. Sobbing in her arms the boy kept on repeating in German: "I thought you were dead, Muti, I thought you were dead."

A few minutes later, mother and son went out into the garden arm in arm. Outside was a typical summer's day in Israel. The sun was beating down furiously. The pair made their way towards a shady lily pond hidden amongst a clump of trees at the end of the beautiful garden.

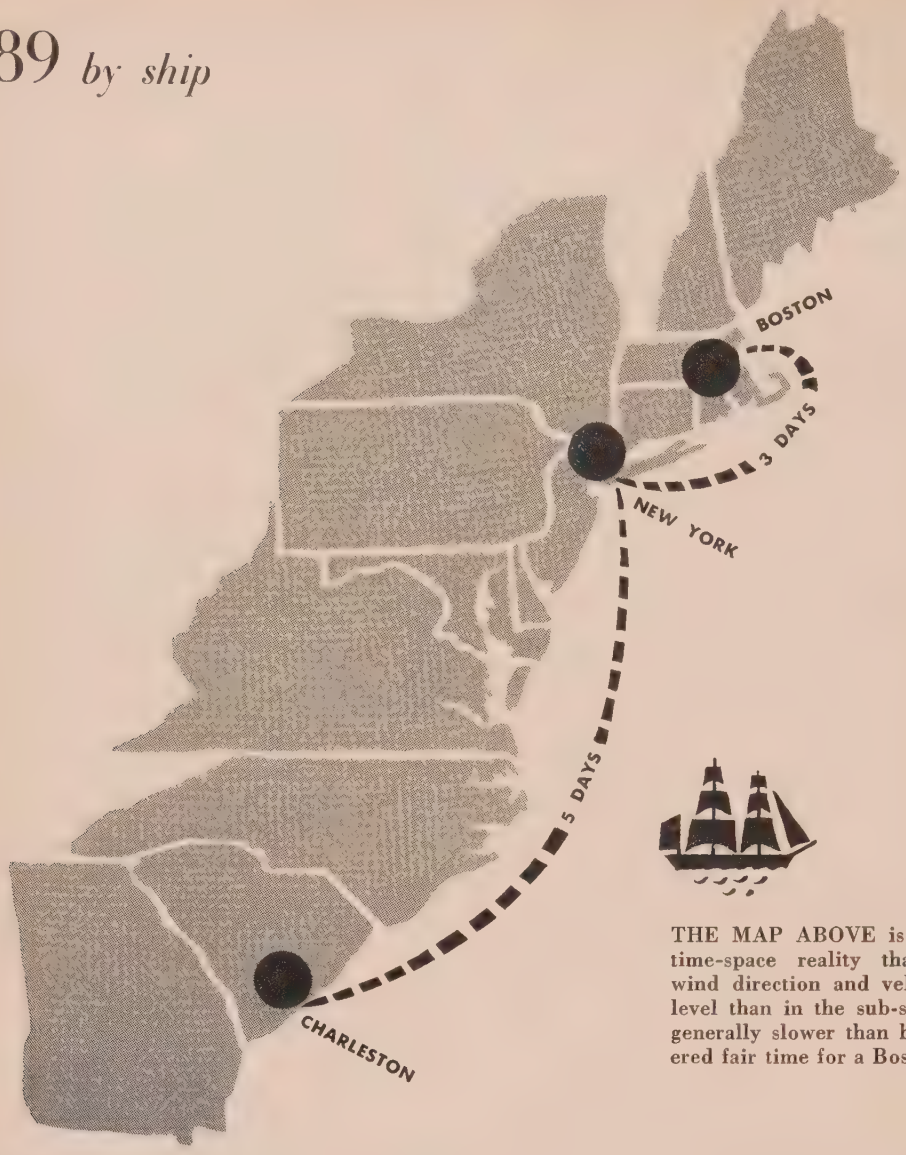
Onim is luxuriously built and stands in 40 acres of its own grounds, which is rare for schools in Israel—land being scarce and costly. Originally it was planned to become a super-boarding school. The first of this kind in Israel—a boarding school in the country for urban children. However, with the influx of refugees these plans were shelved and the school began to serve another purpose. During the two years of its existence, even while the building was still going on, more than 2000 refugee children had passed through Onim, receiving care and training before going on to settlements and towns which absorbed them.

When Peter and his mother returned, both were calm. They were going to leave the same evening. But Peter would not be going for good. Both he and his mother had agreed that, after a short holiday with her, he would return to Onim and to his group—his group of youngsters of his own age with whom he had worked, and upon whom he came to look as his family. Together they will go on to "Hachshara" (training for agriculture) in one of the Kibbutzim (agricultural settlements). When their period of Hachshara and their schooling will be over, perhaps they will go out as a group and form a Kibbutz of their own.

His mother will come and visit him often, and he will spend all holidays with her, but she knows that it is best for him to remain at Onim. There he will receive the best care and education and the best chance to establish himself in life. A fine life of service and security.

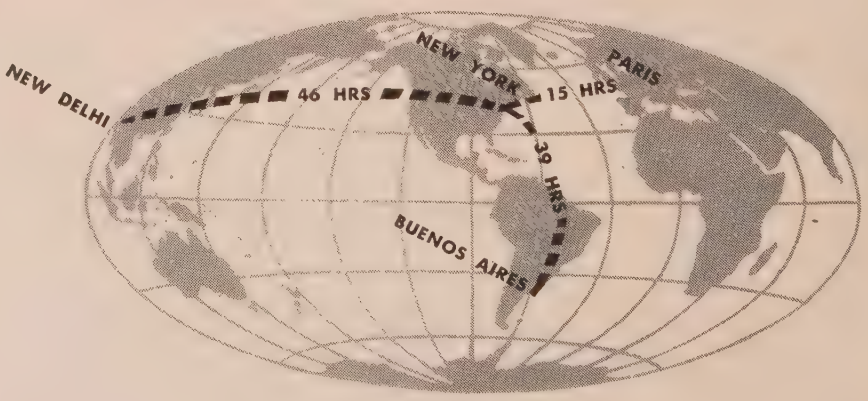
"Now, he will work much better than he did before," said Big David with an understanding smile, "he wasn't a very good scholar before, but now—it's different—he will have a mother to work for."

1789 *by ship*



THE MAP ABOVE is a far rougher representation of time-space reality than that below—chiefly because wind direction and velocity are less predictable at sea level than in the sub-stratosphere. And land travel was generally slower than by ship—seven days being considered fair time for a Boston-New York trip by stagecoach.

1949 *by plane*



MUCH TOO LARGE, this map suggests that New Delhi is farther from New York now than Boston was 160 years ago. Actually, as a study of the time designations will show, it is less than two thirds as distant. And Paris, 15 hours away, is closer to UN's capital than one of the Westchester commuting cities was back in 1789.

These dis-United Nations

If union requires a miracle, let's have a miracle

THE UN CHARTER IS STRONGER TODAY

THAN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE dis-UNITED STATES

WAS 150 YEARS AGO—WHEN PATRICK HENRY

REFUSED EVEN TO HELP FORMULATE IT,

EIGHT OTHERS BOYCOTTED THE CONFERENCE

AND THREE WHO ATTENDED FINALLY REFUSED TO SIGN

BY ALEXANDER WILEY

United States Senator from Wisconsin

■ Alexander Wiley is not a dyed-in-the-wool internationalist. He reached the opinions expressed in this article by weighing historical evidence with no emotional incentive to prejudice him toward the United Nations. He has projected into the future obviously only the conclusions which his careful study presented to his mind as inescapable.

"THE United Nations is just a talk marathon."

"They ought to name that organization the 'Disunited Nations.' "

"The only thing the United Nations seems to agree on is to disagree."

"They ought to quit talking and get on to having their third world war."

These are some of the sour notes on the United Nations which one hears these days. From every side rise the voices of discontent, the prophets of disaster, the groaners of gloom. This pessimism, this absence of faith in the ultimate ability of the world organization to establish a just and lasting peace is perhaps one of the most dangerous elements in the world today. So long as there is faith in the UN, so long as the common people of the world believe that somehow, in some way a lasting alternative to war can be worked out, then the dead of World Wars I and II will not have made the supreme sacrifice in vain.

Usually the discontented base their disapproval on the premise that, since World War II has been over for three and a half years, the problems of the world should have been cleared up. They seem to assume that the millennium was to have been ushered in automatically, once the guns stopped firing. From the over-optimism of August, 1945, the pendulum of opinion has swung to the deep pessimism of 1949. Crises in Palestine, in Korea, in China, in Berlin and elsewhere have precipitated a *disbelief* in the potentialities of the UN for growth and evolution into an organization that will spare future generations the horrors of war.

Many critics simply do not understand the necessity for thorough debate in the UN. But as one Senator once said about the apparently endless talking in the United States Senate, "I would rather see debate, if necessary, without action, than action without debate."

If you believe that it would be a miracle for peace to come through the UN's efforts, then I say that it was by no greater miracle that peace and unity came to the United States, despite the countless feuds of 13 jealous, suspicious Colonies, a century and a half ago. The utterly chaotic conditions that prevailed among the feuding "principalities" east of the Alleghenys in the latter part of the 18th century is a facsimile paral-

These dis-United Nations *continued*

lel to the seeming chaos that prevails in much of Europe and Asia today.

I think that I can appreciate somewhat the problems of trying to get "principalities" to agree, for I remember some of the skeptical reactions here and abroad when I introduced a mere policy declaration resolution in the 80th Congress which would have placed the United States on record as favoring the formation of a United Democratic States of Europe. I did not and do not believe that the unification of *all* the states on the European continent is desirable or possible at the present moment because, to place Russia and her satellites in such a union, would be akin to trying to merge some heterogeneous South American dictatorships into the American Union of 48 States. I *do* believe that a United Democratic States of Europe could work, and I for one will continue to bend my efforts toward that objective.

NO NEED TO FEAR THE US SENATE

A United Democratic States of Europe would be the sort of regional federation envisioned under the United Nations' charter. It would function with the very closest of co-operation with the United States in all international discussions and in membership on the various unaffiliated organizations of the UN.

Of course, there will be considerable pioneering necessary in the field of international law in settling in written form agreements between, for example, the United States and the United Democratic States of Europe. It will take the finest experts experienced in world jurisprudence to work out these relationships.

We have seen the Benelux economic entente. We have seen how the Western Europe nations can work together for the preparation of joint estimates on financial needs under the Marshall Plan. What we need now is for the nations to establish a strong basis for co-operation for purposes other than merely obtaining financial aid. There is every indication that the US Senate would look with great favor upon voluntary federation such as I have above suggested and would be eager to define US relationships with such a union.

The basis of the union of the western powers should not, of course, only be fear of possible military aggression. On the contrary, these powers should unite on the basis of recognition of the intrinsic advantages which can be secured under such a union.

There is a tremendous amount of potential good will among the people of the United States which will spontaneously manifest itself when once our people see these western powers coming together sincerely and conscientiously for union. We of the 48 states on this North American continent who have known the blessings of union will take to our hearts a movement abroad for a similar union. We recognize, of course, the tremendous complexities involved, the tremendous administrative problems, the deep factor of national pride in individual heritages, but we know that union, far from being impossible, is a definite possibility if the Western European nations have the statesmanship—the will, intent and purpose—to accomplish it.

The 16 Western European nations have been slowly gravitating toward union. In fact, the painfully slow progress, although discouraging, is hardly fatal. Some of us who are so prone to cast stones at others' unbuilt glass houses should remember that, even after the US established a union, we had to consolidate that Union with the blood of hundreds of thousands at Gettysburg, Vicksburg, Bull Run; and we had to watch the smoldering embers of hatred burning in our own nation for decades thereafter. Why then, should we be so impatient with the continuing feuds of European nations in the UN?

THE US PATTERN OF WRITTEN COMPACTS

The history of America shows that miracles can happen. The situation in the world today, therefore, requires neither pessimism nor optimism, but hopeful realism.

At the time our own Constitution was written, *no other nation had ever previously operated under a written compact.* No other nation had ever sprung into existence as did the United States. Why then, should men be discouraged by the fact that there has never been a successful governing body to unite the nations of the world?

Do we, with 150 years of experience as a government, lack wisdom and leadership and maturity to help save the world for peace? Do we question the ability of Europe's statesmen? Our Constitution was written by men who were mere youths by today's standards. Four men elected to the Constitutional Convention were in their 20's. Eighteen men were in their 30's. Twenty men were in their 40's. Only 13 men were 50 years or older.

In fact, the few older statesmen who were present, such as Washington, Franklin, Robert Morris, John Dickinson, and George Wythe, as a rule, sat silently. It was the new and young generation that debated the fierce issues of the time, and finally drew up that great document, the United States Constitution. Hamilton was only 30 years old, Madison 36—two of the outstanding leaders for the cause of a united states.

Nor were all of the signers of the Constitution exactly suited to their task. Madison, for example, was a well-to-do bookish scholar and student, taken to theorizing and philosophizing, rather than to the practical matter of earning his daily bread. Yet he helped to form one of the most practical and pragmatic documents of world history, which has withstood the test of guiding our great country for a critical century and a half.

THE US PATTERN OF EARLY SKEPTICISM

Obstacles? Yes, the framers of the Constitution had plenty of problems waiting to strangle their efforts. As we all know, the signing of the Constitution (like the signing of the UN Charter) was not the end of the fight for unity, but the beginning.

Many leading statesmen of the times "seemed firmly persuaded that the cradle of the Constitution would be the grave of republican liberty."

Five men elected to attend the Constitutional Convention, including that great patriot, Patrick Henry, *refused to attend.* They were fiercely opposed to the convention, the Constitution, and its ratification.

Four men attending the convention became so dissatisfied with the form the Constitution was taking that they left before it adjourned.

Three of the 42 men present at adjournment of the convention *refused to sign* the Constitution because they objected to it.

Nor were the leading statesmen of the times the only enemies of the Constitution who firmly believed it was "bad" for the country. Many of the citizens themselves were against it. As early as the election of 1792, the South made a threat to secede. The frequency with which the word "secession" appeared in Congress appalls a contemporary observer. From 1804 to 1815, leaders in New England made no less than four aggressive attempts to destroy the Constitution, to separate the Northern and Eastern States from the Federal Union, and to organize a New England Confederacy.

"Can it be supposed that this vast country, including the western territory, will, 150 years hence, remain one nation?"

That was a question put before the Constitutional Convention by Nathaniel Gorham, a delegate from Massachusetts. He was referring not to the expanse which Americans of today understand by that description, but merely the land extending westward from the Appalachians to the Mississippi River.

Today the century and a half has expired, and not only has the territory east of the Mississippi been incorporated into what is apparently an indissoluble union, but additions have been made which, in Mr. Gorham's eyes, would have seemed, indeed, a miracle.

Yes, the people back in 1790 lacked faith in the Constitution, just as many of us are inclined to lack faith in the UN. Only the fact that Washington was to be the first President, it was said, made the adoption of the Constitution possible. It was predicted that the whole thing would go into discard when he retired. Moreover, it was believed that Washington would go down in history as a great man—but also as a great failure—because of what was felt to be the "temporary" nature of the Constitution and the United States government. Even as late as 1812, it was commonly declared that James Madison would be the last President of the United States under the Constitution.

So doubtful was the ratification of the Constitution that it took an *emotional* incident of the heart, such as an insult to the integrity of the beloved Washington, to help turn the tide for ratification. At a critical hour, a reckless opponent of the Constitution in a Philadelphia newspaper denounced Washington as a born fool, and a tyrant wishing to subvert the liberties of the people. The reaction to this charge among those who differed from Washington in opinion but could not endure such an attack upon him, persuaded a majority of the anti-constitutionists to his side, and aided to complete his victory in obtaining ratification of the Constitution.

IT'S A MATTER OF PERSPECTIVE

Compared to the hard fight that had to be put up before the Constitution became accepted, it might almost be said that the United Nations is having easy going of it. For one thing, work is well under way in constructing the home for the United Nations. But, the Supreme Court, which is the protector of our Constitution, was held in such little esteem that when the new Capital City was established in Washington, D. C., in 1800, but a decade and a half after the Constitution had been ratified, no building and no chambers were provided for the Judicial Branch of government.

Up until the time that John Marshall became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, that now revered position was looked down on as being of little importance. Such great men as Patrick Henry, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Robert Hanson Harrison, Alexander Hamilton, all declined the "honor."

In fact, until Marshall breathed life into the judicial arm of government it was considered the most helpless and harmless of all the government's organs.

These are but a few of the obstacles that the Constitution of the United States had to overcome. It took a miracle to make it work, but today the United States Constitution is indeed a success. In the 160 years which have passed since its adoption, virtually the only institution to remain unchanged is the Constitution itself. America, the youngest of the great nations, is at the same time the oldest government.

It may very well take a miracle to make the UN the strong, effective instrument for peace for which the peoples of the world have been praying, but that miracle *can* be achieved. The once dis-united 13 Colonies, now the greatest nation in the world, are the inspiring pattern for the "dis-united Nations" which in turn can be the fulfillment of the dream of centuries for a world organization that will forever banish the catastrophe of war from human affairs.

BY AIR

An Easy Day's Trip to Europe

BY SEA

Four or Six or Ten Days

THIS IS THE YEAR IT CAN BE DONE BY UNW READERS

AS MEMBERS OF MARSHALL PLAN STUDY GROUPS AT LOW RATES

—see page 37

THE LONG GOODBYE: A tough Communist guard; a thin, pale nobleman; his childless wife whose hands caress him hungrily and whose tired eyes and tragic smile emphasize her emotion. Only one slender hand, outstretched as if to grasp again wife and freedom, express the feelings of the introversive Prince Paul.

BY ELIZABETH GUTHY DAVIS
Formerly Editor of Budapest's "Szinházi Élet" ("Theater Life")

Eszterhazy Paul

The Prince who married the chorus girl

AN INTIMATE ESTIMATE OF THE PERSONALITY OF THE HUNGARIAN ARISTOCRAT WHO— FACING TRIAL WITH CARDINAL MINDSZENTY— WAS SENTENCED TO 15 YEARS IN PRISON FOR TREASON

WHEN a Communist policeman took Prince Paul Eszterházy away to begin a 15-year prison sentence as one of those convicted in the famous Mindszenty trial, a chapter ended in Hungary's history. The significance of that event is enhanced by the circumstance that the history of Hungary over the last three decades reflects in its many facets almost all that has happened elsewhere in Eastern Europe in the same period. And the career of Hungary's first aristocrat epitomizes and dramatizes that of his country.

Because he inherited the largest fortune in Central Europe as well as the proudest title, Eszterházy Pál (Paul), as the Hungarians name him putting the patronym first, has long been a legend. His private life was as thoroughly scrutinized as that of royalty, and his loves and his marriage were public concern.

It is common knowledge that there were two great loves in his life. The story of them is itself an arresting commentary on the momentous changes these times have seen. The first woman Prince Paul ever knew intimately was offered to him almost as by the privilege of *jus primae noctis*. The second was not even a baroness. But Eszterházy was happy to marry her, a circumstance that would have been unimaginable as recently as a quarter century ago.

The last time I saw Eszterházy Paul was in the early '40's, in the late afternoon twilight of a tiny funeral chapel in the Kerepesi ut Cemetery of Budapest. A small group of impoverished aristocrats had come to pay last homage to the Countess Anthony Apponyi. The entire ineffectual affair was less a funeral than a demonstration of bitter-end allegiance to Otto von Hapsburg, the absentee monarch of their dreams.

It was one of Prince Paul's very

rare public appearances. He stood erect with head unbowed—an Eszterházy does not bow even to death. In the world outside the chapel, the great storm was gathering fury. He would not bow to it, either.

I had first seen Eszterházy at Budapest's fashionable automobile races in the middle '20's, shortly after his return from college in Bonn where he prepared himself for the administration of the 500,000 acres of fertile land his family owned. The appearance of the shy, gawky, dreamy-eyed young man at the races was a sensation. It was known that he had returned to his low, grey fortress-like palace in Tárnok Street, but he had not before been seen outside the palace gates.

Shortly afterward, however, Budapest began to gossip about him. Whether true or not, the tale is worth retelling, if only to illustrate the type of legend that blossomed under Hungary's 20th century version of feudal glamor.

Upon his return from Bonn, so the story went, young Paul was called to the room of the Dowager Princess, the former Countess Keglevich, for what, had his father been alive, would have been a "man-to-man" talk.

A forthright woman, the Princess asked the heir to Europe's greatest fortune: "Paul, tell me, did you have an affair in Bonn?"

"Why no, Mother," he answered, embarrassed.

"Well . . . You are 23 now. We'll have to do something about *it*." And she did—in a manner that was possible only in Hungary.

The Dowager Princess called a family council at Kismarton Castle. In attendance were the Bishop of Veszprém, the family's private primate; the chief counsel of the Eszterházys, Dr. Emil Nagy, a former Minister of Justice; and Dr. Gábor Horváth, the Prince's secretary who has followed his lord to jail.

It was Dr. Horváth who suggested a solution: "It is, I believe, customary in such cases to choose a *bonne amie* for the Prince from among members of the *corps de ballet* of the Royal Opera House."

Next day the council adjourned to the private office of the director of the Budapest Opera. A private performance of the Ballet was promptly arranged, but no ballerina met with the approval of the council. As the strange delegation was escorted out by the Opera's famous Chief Doorman, a red-bearded giant known to all Budapest as Father Csepke, there entered a tall, slender woman of aristocratic appearance, flawless complexion, deep blue eyes and long ash-blond hair. The Dowager Princess stopped and turned to Csepke: "Who is this angelic creature?" she asked.

"My daughter Maria, if it pleases Your Highness," Csepke answered dutifully. His voice mellowed as he said: "We call her Pintyöke." Next day Pintyöke—Little Nightingale—moved into the *garçonnière* of young Prince Paul.

When I saw him next in the middle '30's, the Prince had thrown open his palace at Tata for a garden party and bazaar for the benefit of the Budapest Society of Opera Lovers. I had been speaking with Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg of Austria when a slender young man approached and greeted the Chancellor with awkward familiarity. Schuschnigg turned to me: "You know Prince Paul Eszterházy, don't you?" This was the first time I actually shook hands with him. I stayed at his side the whole afternoon as he moved from booth to booth.

He spent an unusually long time at one of the booths over which a graceful girl of about 17 presided. She was wearing a white fox cape and was introduced to the Prince as Melinda de Ottrubay, a member of the *corps de ballet* of the Royal Opera. In her person the fate prescribed by romantic Dr. Horváth was to catch up with the young lord.

Melinda was completely unlike anyone else in the *corps*. She was what the Hungarians call an *urilány*—a respectable young lady of good family. Her father was a Supreme Court justice; her mother accompanied her to both rehearsals and performances.

But, if the Prince found Melinda to his liking, he did not win her then. Shortly afterward, however, Melinda shed her motherly chaperone, and moved into a bachelor apartment of her own. Columnists thereafter associated her with Andrew de Tasnády-Nagy, a powerful politician, an anti-Semite, a fervent admirer of Hitler, and eventually President of the Lower House of the Hungarian Parliament.

Soon it was officially announced that the beautiful and talented Prima Ballerina of the Budapest Opera, Carola Szalay, had yielded her place to the virtually unknown Melinda de Ottrubay. Newspapers began to describe Melinda as a poetess of great talent, an actress surpassed only by Duse, a singer second only to Lili Pons—all the praises the influence of Andrew de Tasnády-Nagy could win for her. The climax of her new career was reached when she appeared in public on the arm of her silver-haired admirer in the royal box of the Opera while Madame de Tasnády-Nagy occupied her usual seat in the orchestra. Budapest society buzzed with delighted shock.

The war eventually ended and, with it, the short reign of Hungary's Nazis. Tasnády-Nagy was hanged. Melinda de Ottrubay survived. So did Prince Eszterházy. One day in 1946 they met again. The historic palace of the great nobleman was in ruins, his castles and acres had been expropriated, and he lived in a furnished room in Veress Pálné Street. But Eszterházy seemed a happier man than ever before in his life.

When Melinda and Paul started to keep company no "society" was left to gossip about them. The Prince's idyll with Pintyöke had ended with her marriage to another man a decade earlier — not long after her Prince had first seen Melinda.

Eszterházy's marriage to Melinda went almost unnoticed. Scarcely anyone realized the pride with which the last head of his great house joined his life with that of the bourgeois woman he loved.

Prince Paul is still a legendary figure in Hungary—and a puzzling one. A large part of his huge estates were in Austria and escaped confiscation. His baroque palace in Vienna still stands. But, though impoverished in Hungary, he never made a move to leave. His refugee relatives, in Switzerland, France and the United States, mystified by his stoic steadfastness, often predicted that the Bolsheviks would bring him to an ignoble end. Perhaps they have.

For, in 15 years—if he survives and serves his full term—Eszterházy Paul will be 64 years of age and an old man. Melinda who today has been for nearly three years a princess without ever entering a castle or inspecting an estate, may never again even share a furnished room with her Prince.

TRAVEL

BY TIBOR KOEVES
UNW'S Travel Editor

Strasbourg:

Europe's new first city

IT IS EXACTLY ONE THOUSAND NINE HUNDRED SIXTY-FOUR YEARS OLD

WHEN the Permanent Commission of the Council of Europe recommended Strasbourg as its center, it hit upon an eloquently dramatic idea. For the chief city of Alsace, though a relatively small town with fewer than 200,000 inhabitants, is also a place whose very existence has been repeatedly involved in the physical and spiritual struggles which Europe has been waging for the best and worst causes in the last 2000 years.

Strasbourg has known pestilences and wars and the bitterness of being fought over in fierce conflicts for power. It also has attracted some of the greatest creative minds, and the most inspired artists of the ages. Here, in the 13th Century the incomparable sculptors of Chartres produced their masterpieces. Here Gutenberg worked 10 years perfecting the printing press. Here Goethe studied at the University, and Rouget de l'Isle wrote the Marseillaise. Almost symbolically, Strasbourg is at the crossroads of the great arteries linking East with West and South with North. Its very name derives from the old German "Strateburg" —the bourg on the roads.

The Council of Europe is as yet an embryonic organization. Fathered by Great Britain, France, Holland,

HIGH ABOVE the dormered roofs of Strasbourg the Cathedral with its dizzy spiral stands eternal guard.

ANCIENT STRASBOURG ON THE ILL—

PART GERMAN, PART FRENCH, BUT NEVER WHOLLY EITHER—

IN 15 BC: A FRONTIER POST OF THE ROMANS

IN 1949 AD: THE CAPITAL OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

STRONGLY PROVINCIAL, HISTORICALLY INTERNATIONAL

IS PROUD OF ITS HOLY CATHEDRAL, ITS FOOLISH VIRGIN

ITS CLEANLINESS AND THE HEADY WINES OF ALSACE

Belgium and Luxembourg last January in London, it expects to welcome also Italy, the Scandinavian countries and Portugal before its first session is held this year.

Though the Council's Assembly will only "advise" member governments and its Executive's powers will be strictly limited to non-military affairs, in it the centuries old European dream of unity has taken new life. And because they themselves are the creatures of two civilizations, the French and the Germanic, the Strasbourgeois will be the first to understand the difficulties of creating one family out of many nations, but also the imperative necessity of union.

Strasbourg's history started when some 15 years before our era Roman legionaries encamped on the little island formed by the branches of the swift Ill river. This is still the site of the Old Town, the soul of Strasbourg. It was from these ramparts that Emperor Julian threw back the invading Allemani in the 4th Century, in one of dying Rome's last victorious gestures. Fifty years later the Barbarians destroyed the Roman outpost, but Strasbourg survived. It again became part of a permanent order in the 9th century when it was incorporated into that Holy Germanic Roman Empire which Voltaire characterized as not holy, not Germanic, not Roman, and not even an empire.

But Strasbourg did not abandon its independence. Its rich and spirited citizens drove out the feudal lords who sought to impose a local rule and wrangled out among themselves a constitution to become a free city —a veritable republic maintaining its own army and minting its own coin.

Erasmus, the great Dutch scholar, glowingly described Strasbourg as a "monarchy without tyranny, aristocracy without factions, democracy without riots, wealth without luxury, and prosperity without ostentation." And although it is doubtful that life in the city was quite that perfect, Erasmus' panegyric essentially reflects the basic qualities which the Strasbourgeois has conserved to this day: his balance, his horror of excess, his sense of justice, his liberalism, his tolerance.

As to the latter, in the 18th century Catholics and Protestants often held religious services in the same church, and in 1788 the University of Strasbourg was the first in Europe to admit a Jewish student. His name was Abraham Baruch.

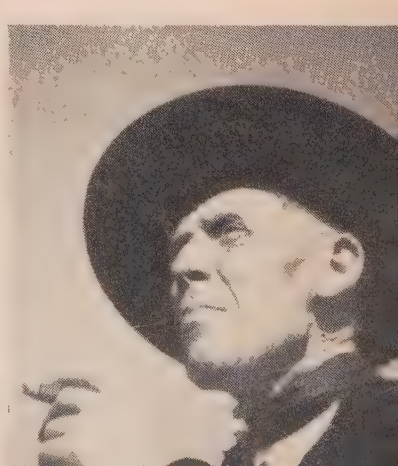
Strasbourg became a part of France when Louis XIV suddenly took the city in 1681. It was to change hands again, not quite 200 years later, as a result of the Franco-Prussian war in 1871. The victory of 1918 gave back Alsace to the French.

During World War II, the city inspired one of Herr Himmler's grandiose, mad projects. Here, in the westernmost corner of the Third Reich, Strasbourg, or rather Strassburg, was to be transformed into the greatest show place of the Aryan superman. It became the capital of Gau Oberrhein, and was ruled not by the army but by the SS, which planned to boost the city's population to 500,000 souls, all of them perfect physical and political specimens of the new and victorious Nazi civilization. To that end, eugenic experiments were conducted at the University with the tallest SS men and the most blue-eyed, the most ideally handsome Nordic girls. Strasbourg does not recall this glorified stud-farm episode of its history with pride.

But Strasbourg survived the Nazi experiments; and it survived the heavy bombardments of 1944 as it had the 200,000 German shells which rained on it during the 40-days siege in 1870 and as it had survived a few centuries earlier two epidemics of bubonic plague which almost wiped out the city. Strasbourgeois are seldom accused of weakness.

Elsewhere in France, in fact, they are often called *frondeurs*—grumblers, fault finders. Indeed, griping and satire have been the Strasbourgeois' traditional form of self-expression, perhaps as an instinctive weapon against intruders. His dialect knows few abstract terms, and he must utter his sentiments with a juicy, earthy flavor.

Drawling and guttural, his tongue is anything but harmonious, and



STUBBORN CHIN, critically squinting eyes, fat cigar butt reveal the character of the fiesta-clad Alsatian.

Strasbourg *continued*

when the local patriot suggests that "the German of Strasbourg would be the most beautiful language if the German of Bern didn't exist," he only means, ironically, that the Bernese German is even more atrocious than his own.

A Strasbourgeois once confided to me that "when the Germans came we spoke French to annoy them, and when the French came we spoke German to annoy *them.*"

When I asked, "Don't you like French?" he answered astonished: "But certainly. What makes you think I don't?"

These people who, according to a local song, want what they don't have and what they have don't want, are prodigious workers. They have their feet solidly planted in the marvelously rich soil of Alsace and they posses a magnificent civic pride. Strasbourgeois willingly pay the highest municipal taxes in France and are inordinately proud of their city's record as the cleanest in the country both morally and physically. Their industry has made of their city the second largest river port in the republic.

The skeptical citizen of Strasbourg waxes eloquent only about a single subject: the wines of Alsace. According to him, they are the noblest, the purest, the sweetest tasting in the world, although he doesn't deny that they can be treacherous.

The Liver That made Strasbourg Famous

Pâté de foie gras, the goose-liver paste, was invented in Strasbourg and reached a peak of exquisite cruelty and perfection 150 years ago. The practice, since abolished, was to nail geese to the floor—to prevent exercise—put out their eyes—to prevent distraction—and cram them constantly with walnuts. Goose livers thus produced were sometimes 10 or 12 times the normal size.

The connoisseurs will teach newcomers that appetizers must be accompanied by a *Knipperle* or a *Zwicker*, the main dish by a *Riesling*, a *Traminer* or a *Sylvaner*, and the dessert preferably by a *Gewurztraminer*.

They also affirm that the full delicacy of their glorious *pâté de foie gras* is released only if accompanied by a cool glass of the local vintage. As to the main course, the great specialty is the *"Choucroûte d'Alsace,"* a special sauerkraut surrounded by generous slices of ham, bacon, and roast loin of pork, a substantial dish worthy of these substantial burghers.

I don't know another city which has so many enchanting, old street names as Strasbourg. There is a Square of the Suckling Pig Market. There is a Street of the Fox who Preached to the Ducklings. Around the Cathedral, the Street of the Scribes, the Street of the Artificers, the Street of the Carpenters, recall the memory of the medieval guilds —of an entire social order.

Not only names, however, but whole neighborhoods have preserved an age-enriched atmosphere and character. Perhaps in the whole of Europe only Berne has the like of the old-fashioned market which the fruit and flower stalls on the Gutenberg Square offer. *Le Bain aux Plantes*, and *La Petite France*, with their friendly, low, centuries-old houses fronting on a canal are among the most idyllic sights of the Continent.

But the great artistic triumph of Strasbourg is, of course, its cathedral, which somehow belongs to the city's everyday life more personally, more intimately than any other church belongs to any other city.

Perhaps that effect is due to the lacy, dizzy, elaborate 464 foot high spire, unique and unforgettable, whose unlikely existence is a constant wonder, a veritable obsession, so that wherever one goes one turns to look for it among the clouds. Like the rest of the Cathedral, it is rose colored, and is richly decorated with statuary in the taste of the late Gothic. It is flanked by four turrets, within which winding, dangerous stairways lead to the top. This ornate, tapering pyramid surmounted by a cross seems to defy the laws of gravity. It is at once formidable and fantastic.

The interior of the Notre Dame de Strasbourg hasn't the soaring, musical grace of that of Paris, nor the breath-taking majesty and anguished mysticism of Chartres. It is wide, luminous, generous. It is robust and calm as the 13th century people who built it and their descendants who still bend their knees here at the hour of Mass. Its chief glory is its statuary, among which the 12 figures decorating the Angel's Pillar are the work of a genius rare even in the blessed 13th century.

The statues stand on three levels around the clustered pillars. On the first we see the Four Evangelists; on the next, four angels sounding trumpets, and, on the topmost tier, Christ surrounded by three angels carrying the Instruments of Passion.

In their sensitive faces, elegant, lithe bodies, measured, sweet movements, these figures possess a mysterious perfection. They are executed with a delicate balance between the decorative and the representative which is as rare as are the moments of joyous certitude and simple happiness they express.

Art, like life, is always on the move, each decade strives for a new expression. It is not too much to say, that the sculptor who achieved the Angel's Pillar captured a moment of ultimate harmony devoid both of the effort and violence of an upsoaring era and the hesitations of a downward movement.

Among the statuary which decorates the magnificent portals of the West facade the most famous are the group that looks down from the niches of the right-hand portal: the group of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.

These are some of the finest psychological studies of the feminine soul ever carved into stone. The five wise ones, princesses or peasants, are alternately melancholy, expectant, sad, absent-minded, or filled with a secret inner joy. Among the foolish virgins the one who is being seduced by the Tempter is unforgettable for the uncanny sense of humor she exudes. The girl's round face brightens in a beaming, vain, stupid smile. Her round eyes become big with desire and she seems to reach for a clasp at the shoulder of her gown, perhaps to undo it as quickly as possible. Obviously empty-headed, she is yet full of life, albeit of a shameless, an embarrassing kind.

Strasbourg was an important cen-

ter throughout the Renaissance and the Reformation. The master masons and stone cutters of the Empire established here their supreme lodge in 1460, and 80 years later John Calvin preached for several seasons his new doctrine in the Cathedral. Many buildings flanking narrow and winding old streets still speak of the intimate relationship of the city with the spirit of that period.

It was, however, the 18th century which heralded one of the great eras of the city. A most important fortress, Strasbourg became the home of brilliant representatives of the military aristocracy, who vied with each other in constructing splendid baroque palaces in the style set by Versailles. Four Princes de Rohan in succession wore the proud title of Archbishop of Strasbourg, and the Palais de Rohan (severely damaged during the late war), was celebrated throughout the world. Never before, and not since, has Strasbourg seen so many lavish balls, fetes and receptions, nor such a constant procession of famous personalities. Voltaire, Rousseau, Metternich, all appeared on the scene, and the traditionally skeptical Strasbourgeois literally mobbed the celebrated Cagliostro, the Houdini of the times, when he came and performed his miracles for three full years.

The circumstance that, of all periods, the 13th and 18th centuries had left the deepest marks on Strasbourg, augurs well for the future capital of Europe, since both periods lived by the credo of universalism. The first by the universalism of the Church, the other by that of the particular style, language and conception of the world which from Versailles penetrated the farthest corners of the civilized world. Through division and crisis, our own 20th century is again approaching a new conception of internationalism, a new universalism. And Strasbourg will be more than a center, a symbol of the new spirit.

Accompanied by her resplendent retinue, one day in 1770 Marie Antoinette, 14-year-old daughter of the Empress Marie Therese of Austria, arrived at the gates of Strasbourg to become the wife of the Dauphin who was later to reign and lose his head as France's Louis XVI. In order to save sensibilities on both sides, it had been decided that she would be received on neither German nor French soil, but on a no man's land, a small uninhabited island in the Rhine just on the limits of Strasbourg.

There, on the naked sand bar, workers erected a wooden construction richly decorated by tapestry and expensive furniture borrowed from the art treasures of Strasbourg. The small building had two ante-rooms looking toward Germany, a reception room, and two ante-rooms looking toward France.

The Princess was led into one of the German reception rooms, and was undressed. She discarded her dress, her shoes, her stockings, her underwear, everything to the last stitch that had been made by Viennese seamstresses, shoemakers and modistes. Then the shivering, unhappy child was led to a French ante-chamber where she was regarbed in silk and lace produced by the artisans of Paris and Lyons. Her transformation accomplished, Marie Antoinette now stepped into the reception room to be entrusted to her new court consisting of subjects of the King of France. She had arrived as an Austrian to be metamorphosed in Strasbourg into a French princess.

One hundred and eighty years have passed. In the course of this year, 1949, delegates from England, France, Italy and Denmark and other countries will arrive at the gates of Strasbourg. They will come as Englishmen, Frenchmen, Italians and Danes. But there, in the old, battered city which has seen so much glory and so much strife, they will become simply Europeans.

TRAVEL INTELLIGENCE

HANNES SCHNEIDER, the uncrowned king of the skiing world has completed arrangements with the Austrian Tourist Department and the KLM Royal Dutch Airlines personally to conduct a ski tour to the Austrian Alps. This 17-day tour to famed St. Anton in the Arlberg region includes round-trip air transportation, three meals per day plus free daily attendance at the Hannes Schneider Ski School or participation in high mountain tours for $775. An "economy" version of the tour is being offered for $690.

FRANCE is the first country in the world to have trains running on pneumatic tires. Three special high-speed trains are "running on air" on the Paris-Strasbourg main line. Each train is made up of five passenger cars and a dining car, accommodating 71 first class and 176 second class passengers.

THE NEW TYPE OF TRAVEL developed by UN World magazine will be inaugurated on May 14 and May 25, sailing dates of the Marshall Plan Tours to the Western Union countries and Scandinavia. These tours are adjusted to the program of the European Travel Commission of the Sixteen Marshall Plan countries under the joint travel program of the US Department of Commerce and the Economic Co-operation Administration as a means of developing international trade and understanding. Special events are being planned by all countries visited. Arrangements have been made to take these Marshall Plan Tours with trans-Atlantic crossing by air, leaving New York on May 20 and May 31 and arriving back at New York on June 11, June 26 and July 1.

UN World is also announcing a tour to Cuba in connection with the meeting of the Economic Commission for Latin America of the United Nations, opening May 29 in Havana. This Tour is devised to offer readers of UN World a unique opportunity not only to enjoy the exotic beauties and attractions of the Cuban capital, but also to make useful and interesting business and cultural contacts. The coupon on this page may be used to obtain further information concerning both tours.

I AM INTERESTED IN UN WORLD'S

☐ MARSHALL PLAN TOUR

☐ CUBAN TOUR

PLEASE SEND PARTICULARS

Name: _____

Address: _____

City and State: _____

BY THE BOOK EDITOR

The British Rediscover Love

Assuagement of loneliness and terror

A Wreath of Roses. BY ELIZABETH TAYLOR
New York, Alfred A. Knopf, $3.

The Heat of the Day. BY ELIZABETH BOWEN
New York, Alfred A. Knopf, $3.

Descent into Hell. BY CHARLES WILLIAMS
New York, Pellegrini & Cudahy, $2.75.

The Moment of Truth. BY STORM JAMESON
New York, The Macmillan Co., $2.50.

From the City from the Plough. BY ALEXANDER BARON
New York, Ives Washburn, $2.75.

FIVE NEW NOVELS TURN TO THE WARM STREAM OF HUMAN AFFECTION AS A GUIDE TO LEAD MEN OUT OF POSTWAR WILDERNESS

In a passage of Elizabeth Taylor's new novel, *A Wreath of Roses*, an elderly woman painter, an excellent artist, belittles her own creations. She calls them *little things*.

"But *not* little," a friend and admirer protests. "That *is* life. It's loving kindness and simplicity, and it lay there all the time in your pictures, implicit in every petal and every jug you ever painted."

"Life's not simplicity," the painter answers. "Not loving kindness either. It's darkness and the terrible things we do to one another and to ourselves."

Thus the two characters grapple. The author takes neither side. She believes that life may be sunshine and loving kindness, or again it may be terror and darkness. It all depends upon people's resources, their sense of honor and duty, their kindness, their will power—and above all their luck in finding affection that saves from evil and desperation.

For loneliness is the main theme of "A Wreath of Roses." The story is about five people and the various forms of their inner isolation. There is the spinster, a teacher who at 30 hasn't known love; the young woman married to the wrong man; the artist who questions her life's work; the quiet, plump, movie director too sensitive to share his life with unworthy companions; and the high strung, young man so exacerbated with the dullness of a dull family and duller provincialism that he kills to assuage his craving for sensations.

Thrown together, and held together by various emotional ties, the five characters alternately grope for and refuse salvation through each other.

In the end the criminal, rejected even by himself, commits suicide. Liz, the frustrated wife, finds a purpose in her baby; and the melancholy artist finds fulfillment in Liz who loves her as a daughter. The teacher and the plump movie man will presumably lose their loneliness in mutual affection and admiration.

The nightmare has lifted. The horror of the vacuum has dissipated through the magic of love for a child, a friend, a mate—solutions that could have become trite and hackneyed in the hands of a lesser artist than Elizabeth Taylor.

But this writer triumphs because she knows the difficulties of loving well. In *A Wreath of Roses*, as in life, love is an intricate art, highly personal. The author is sensitive to the exquisite balance giver and taker must preserve. She is aware of the pitfalls of idiosyncrasy, of the dangers of jealousy, of the temptation of a passing mood; but she also knows how devotion and inspiration may reverse the worst defeat. *A Wreath of Roses* is a journey to explore the human heart, and those who go along will remember it for a long time.

THERE are two features which create an interesting relationship etween *A Wreath of Roses* and lizabeth Bowen's new novel *The Heat of the Day*. One is that the latter's hero too is a "man of darkness." Not a murderer, this time, but traitor. The other is the common nprint of a mellow, high civilization: that of England's upper middle lasses. The heroes and heroines of hese books speak a refined language s a matter of course, their manners re in their blood, they respond to eauty spontaneously, and their inds have been trained by generaions and generations of poets and hinkers.

According to *The Heat of the Day*, owever, that beautiful, closed world s subject to a grave danger. If it becomes inflexible, fossilized, if for ny of its people it loses its inner neaning, then it is bound to produce riminals and traitors.

Miss Bowen's story is woven round Stella, a beautiful woman of 0. Her lover, Robert, holds an important hush-hush job in the Minstry of War and he is accused by a nysterious man called Harris of beng a traitor in the service of the Nazis.

The novel proceeds to explore and xploit the mystery surrounding Robert, until, in the last chapters, e admits that he does work for he Germans, and is finally killed when he falls from the roof of Stella's house as he tries to escape Harris.

Robert's rationalization of his berayal is quite weak; his intellectual rguments are muddled. His true easons are evidently emotional, and hey are revealed to us when we accompany Stella and Robert on a visit o the country where Robert's mother nd sister live.

These women are empty shells, utomatons going through motions vithout even enjoying them. They on't like any one, they don't give, nd their only aim in life is to keep p appearances. They are wallowing n the most horrifying, the basest ettiness.

It was against that stultifying coldess which had previously driven his ather into utter weakness that Robrt had revolted with a vengeance. He wanted to annihilate his country n order to annihilate his family and s traditions, because without love nd spiritual renewal, without every generation adding its heart to the work of the ancestors, a civilization rots away and ends in disaster. As Robert says: "It (going over to the enemy) bred my father out of me, gave me a new heredity."

GOOD and Evil are conceived on a metaphysical level in *Descent into Hell*, another English novel by Charles Williams, a man who believed that there are no barriers in time and space between the dead and the live.

The location of the story is Battle Hill, a village where, in the course of centuries, blood has been shed and foul deeds have been done, among them the burning of a martyr.

Pauline, a youthful and sensitive descendent of the martyr has a terrible, a frightening secret. Periodically she encounters her *doppelgänger*, her own self in plain, physical reality. She is terrorized by anxiety until the day she meets Stanhope, a great poet whose spiritual lucidity gives him an insight into the laws of the universe, and of the human heart also. He offers to relieve Pauline of her fear through "the doctrine of substituted love." That means that he will carry Pauline's burden. He will think of what comes to her, he says, imagine it, and know it and be afraid of it. Then she won't. When she wonders and protests, he explains:

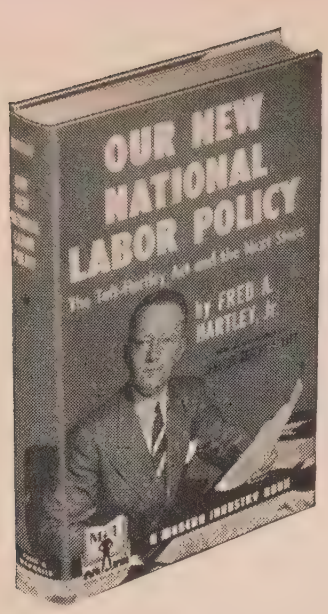
"If you want to live and laugh, then you must be content to be helped. You must give up your burden to someone else, and you must carry someone else's burden . . . I'm sure that this is a law of the universe, and not to give up your parcel is as much to rebel as not carry another's. You'll find it quite easy if you let yourself do it."

This exorcism through love is the key to *Descent into Hell*. It means that past and present are full of the spirit of evil, of wrongdoings, cruelties, vulgar and offending sins which must be overcome through superior acts of devotion and spiritual dedication. Wrongs do not die with the physical death of their perpetrators, but remain abroad in the air and eat away the hearts of men until they are banished into oblivion by the insight and faith of the poet-mage and the trust and good will of the pure of heart.

Pauline and Stanhope and the latter's doctrine of substituted love, are creative acts of an order, a poetry and a significance which readers will not soon forget.

THE theme of Storm Jameson's *The Moment of Truth* is love of one's country: loyalty at its highest in the view of the author. It concerns 12 persons waiting for a plane at an isolated airfield in the north of England. The Third World War has been lost, the Russians have occupied most of the country, and this will be the last plane escaping to the United States. But it will seat only five people, including the pilot, and now each of the 12 must search his heart and make up his mind whether he or she is justified in wanting to be one of the chosen. The hour of truth has struck. People must give an unalterable account of themselves. In the process personal and ethical motives mix, love conflicts with code of honor, selfishness with idealism. The situation is rather melodramatic, but Miss Jameson carries it off with a quiet assurance so that thrill and suspense remain honest and convincing to the end. She even permits the only coward in the crowd to escape with his child and shamed, agonizing but slavishly adoring wife.

Those who wish to remain behind do so for various motives. A colonel is a shade too elated about killing, and will form a maquis. A sergeant-pilot sees no reason for getting away, because he is a Communist. Kent, a pilot officer whose pregnant young wife will be on the plane and who has a chance to go, declines for reasons which are not very articulate, but perfectly understandable. But the message of the novel is doubtless carried by a tired, bluff, infinitely wise general who, in the hour of decision invokes the guidance of the past. Even under the rule of the enemy England will remain England if Englishmen remain what they used to be, he decides, if they refuse to kill people for their intentions rather than their deeds—as the Colonel wanted to kill the Communist sergeant-pilot—if in defeat and near annihilation they succeed in conserving the values by which they lived in their era of glory. "We go on living with what we did —we are not cut off," the General says, and stays behind.



A report to the American people

By Representative

FRED A. HARTLEY, Jr.

OUR NEW NATIONAL LABOR POLICY

The Taft-Hartley Act and the Next Steps

With a foreword by Senator

ROBERT A. TAFT

THE co-author of the Taft-Hartley Act tells how and why the bill was developed. Includes the complete text of the Act. "A public service has been rendered by Senator Taft in his foreword and by Representative Hartley in writing this compact account of the law in which is set forth its political and social philosophy as well as the political steps involved in its enactment." —*N.Y. Herald Tribune.* $2.85

M·I A MODERN INDUSTRY HANDBOOK

FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY
153 East 24th Street, New York 10, N. Y.
Please send me OUR NEW NATIONAL LABOR POLICY for 10 days' free examination on approval. At the end of 10 days I agree to remit $2.85 plus a few cents postage, or return the book postpaid.

Name .....

Address .....

City..... Zone.... State.....

UN449

World Books *continued*

LONDON's best selling novel, *From the City from the Plough,* by Alexander Baron is not about the next but the last war. It has been compared to *All Quiet on the Western Front* and other famous books, but it's an inspired and engaging achievement in its own right.

The American reader is first of all struck by its utter dissimilarity to war novels produced in the United States.

Soliders are no savage or cunning brutes here as in *The Naked and the Dead* and similar epics, but warm-hearted, simple boys from the country, or at their worst, lovable and amusing city slickers. This 5th Battalion, Wessex Regiment, whose story Baron tells from the training camp in England to the hill in France where it is wiped out, is not saddled with a werewolfish Sergeant Croft. McBean, the Regimental Sergeant-Major is "just and kindly," he is "the talk of the battalion, its idol." He is a father to the boys, and their colonel is a grandfather; all of them are just one happy family.

The incidents are slight and modest. The men drill, parade, converse, drink beer, chase after women. And then, on a tragic day in Normandy, they die like heroes not knowing they are that. In a terrible war, these ranks live and fall nobly simply because it is their habit to undress and tuck in a comrade who comes in drunk, because they watch and guide the very young among them, or because some of them like to put in a couple of hours' work on a farm after the day's exhausting drill for the sheer love of the soil.

In the whole book there is not one mention of King, Country, Empire, Democracy or Fascism. Y these lads know so well what th are fighting for: for each other. A after all these years of doctri discussions and ideological strugg I have yet to hear of a more co vincing, more respectable war ai

Love, more spiritual than phy cal, seems thus to hold the conce trated attention of many of conte porary England's significant nov ists.

If these novels give an accura picture of them, the men and wom of England are focusing their atte tion on the world of feeling and emotional fulfillment with a great urgency and a more exclusive co cern than they were believed to in the past. For centuries forei observers had the impression th the individual Englishman was ca ried along in life by the convention rules and laws of his native civiliz tion. Now it would seem that in cris and impoverishment, in the gener anxiety of a world which has lost i bearings, he turns inward to fir serenity, understanding and happ ness in the gospel of his own hear

Social, political, intellectual them discreetly withdraw into the bac ground, as if after the great tria and griefs of the collective life pe ple wanted to find their answer life's meaning in personal relatio ships.

But this is anything but escapi literature. This is a highly constru tive attempt to brace the individu against an incomprehensible wor by exploring and bolstering his ow inner world. Love becomes the onl security and harmony in a changin and eruptive world ridden wit anxiety and incertitude.

Recommended Books

THE MAN WHO INVENTED SIN *by Sean O'Faolain—Devin-Adair.*

CEREMONY OF INNOCENCE *by Elizabeth Charlotte Webster—Harcourt, Brace.*

THE LIMITS OF ART *ed. by Huntington Cairn—Bollingen-Pantheon.*

HUMAN KNOWLEDGE *by Bertrand Russel—Simon and Schuster.*

FROM DAY TO DAY *by Odd Nansen—Putnam.*

EVERYMAN'S UNITED NATIONS—*UN World-Funk & Wagnalls.*

Fission
Asia
and the Politburo

Lead world problems discussed in new books

ear, War and the Bomb
y P. M. S. Blackett. New York, Whit-esey House. $3.50.

Because of its subject matter, its in-insic character, and the authority of its ithor, this book is bound to have great fluence—as indeed it already has had in s original British publication. The ques-on is whether the influence will be for ood or ill. In the opinion of this reviewer, will be most decidedly the latter.

The author is a distinguished British hysicist, a Nobel laureate, who occupied uring the recent war an important defense ost in the British government. His book lucidly and vigorously written, it em-races what appears on the surface to be a gorous analysis based on a considerable nount of research, and above all its con-usions are completely compatible with e preconceptions of an important sector the national community. No civilian, nd certainly no physicist, has written so oquently what the military want to hear out the atomic bomb.

We may dismiss at once as of relatively ttle importance the author's analysis of e political problems posed by the atomic omb. The people who are most concerned ith those problems will readily recognize e inaccuracies and fallacies. Besides, the onspicuous pro-Soviet bias which domi-ates the whole discussion will warn where does not repel.

Quite another result, however, will fol-w from the analysis of the military con-quences of the bomb. Members of the ir Forces will recognize certain distor-ons of fact and deduction in the interpre-tion of World War II experience, but en they will want to hear that the atomic omb does not decisively alter the strategic d tactical circumstances of their profes-on. Members of the other services will d unqualified delight in the general de-eciation of the value of strategic bomb-g and especially in the thesis that it ould require not hundreds but thousands atomic bombs to reproduce even World ar II results. And these are generally ople who have been trained but poorly to distinguish sound logic from the specious variety.

To expose comprehensively the author's fallacies of fact and reasoning would require a treatise almost as long as the book itself. It will have to be sufficient here to say simply that the general technique used is that of the half truth, where every event favorable to his argument is emphasized, and every unfavorable event glossed over or ignored. The same is true of his handling of other writers on the subject. Their relatively vulnerable arguments are exposed at length; those of their insights which are most destructive to the Blackett thesis are given no consideration.

A single example, out of many available, will certainly not prove the point but will at least illustrate it. In discussing the British experience with V-1 in the recent war, the author emphasizes the following: "Within three months of the start of the attacks, fighters and anti-aircraft fire shot down 80 per cent of those launched at London from the French coast."

Now it is quite true that towards the end of the three-months' period something like that proportion were being shot down. But it required a very substantial reorganization of the defenses, even with prior intelligence warning, to accomplish that result; and, depending upon what one is discussing, three months may be a very long time. What the author also fails to mention is infinitely more important for any inferences about the atomic bomb—the proportion of bombs destroyed in the first weeks of the attack. And even if one takes the whole three-months' period, the result looks very different from what Mr. Blackett implies, for over that period fewer than half of the bombs launched were brought down by the combined efforts of guns, fighters and balloons.

This example, incidentally, highlights one of the two major flaws in the Blackett argument—the failure to recognize that, especially in aerial warfare, techniques of defense are conditioned by techniques of offense and must therefore almost inevitably lag behind them.

With atomic bombs, such a lag is likely to be fatal, even if we could assume that *given time* adequate defenses to any new form of attack could be devised. The second major failing is the author's complete disregard of the importance of the time span over which a given amount of damage is inflicted. It may be true that the first four years of strategic bombing of Germany brought no vital result, but if the same amount of physical damage—or even half the amount—could have been telescoped into say one or two weeks the strategic consequences would have been immeasurably different.

And what the atomic bomb threatens to do is to make possible *within a few days* infliction, not of the damage of the first four years of World War II, but of the decisive last eight months.

BERNARD BRODIE

(Prof. Brodie is Director of Graduate Studies at Yale University and editor of "The Absolute Weapon.")

New Compass of the World
by Hans W. Weigert, Vilhjalmur Stefannson, Richard Edes Harrison, *et al.* New York. The Macmillan Company. $5.50.

This symposium on political geography is a successor to *Compass of the World*, published in 1944. It revises many of the earlier viewpoints in the light of a developing world situation. All 19 contributors are eminent in their fields and many, such as George Kiss, Frank Lorimer, Owen Lattimore, Irene B. Taeuber, Warren S. Thompson, Samuel Van Valkenburg, are familiar to students of political geography and to thoughtful observers of international relations.

With the objective of helping in the formulation of an intelligent national policy, the authors have selected certain "cradles of conflict" for close scrutiny. The primary thesis is to indicate the significance of population and power movements to the north.

Considerable space is given to Soviet development of the Arctic and sub-Arctic, and to the Alaska-Canada-Greenland frontier of the United States. Six chapters are devoted to the Soviet Union. Strausz-Hupé discusses the "fantastically complex" problems of Russia's western frontiers and the great significance of the Soviet advance to the Stettin-Trieste line. Robert J. Kerner, while hopefully underestimating Russia's military position on land and sea, warns that the emergence of atomic air power makes difficult a sound evaluation of Russia's true strength.

Hans W. Weigert reviews the security needs of the United States and exposes the "fallacy of strategic frontiers." North-south requirements of national security are emphasized and the anomalous policy pursued by this country in attempting to combine national and collective security is scored.

Some chapters will provoke violent disagreement. For example, Dr. George B. Cressey's discussion of "China's Prospects" presents an optimistic picture of a reconstructed China, placed on a sound economic basis by unlimited outside aid. China is pictured as inevitably the leading state of Asia. Her greatest problem, a

dense and unskilled population, is somewhat sweepingly resolved by the statement that "there is no reason why two generations of training may not make labor as skilled as in Europe."

A substantial portion of the book is devoted to population problems, the practical solutions of which the editors view as indispensable to the maintenance of world peace. Malthus' dire predictions of a hundred years ago are seen as ultimately valid unless some form of stringent birth control can be introduced in the critical population areas. The authors omit to say how this could be done.

Compass of the World is a stimulating and readable book.

X

(Mr. X is an outstanding authority on geopolitics who holds an official position in the national military establishment.)

Stalin & Co. The Politburo—The Men Who Run Russia.
by Walter Duranty. New York, William Sloane Associates. $3.00.

Walter Duranty, best known to American readers as a former *New York Times* Moscow correspondent, writes in this book about the Politburo and its members. He holds that the Politburo of today is largely the creation of Stalin. Mr. Duranty claims that his investigation of the characters and careers of the members of the famous Bureau is based on personal contacts as well as on Soviet records. His most important conclusion is that Stalin & Co. is not a set of greedy gangsters like the Nazi leaders. He says that all of them worked for self-improvement by education and experience, won promotion by merit and that they form one of the most tightly-knit ruling groups the world has known.

The author expresses the view that it would be wrong to attack the Politburo as a group of heartless men who have clamped an iron tyranny upon 200 million slaves, since slaves cannot be driven to such heights of courage as the Russians showed during the war.

Mr. Duranty further concludes that the Russian background has developed the herd instinct in the Russian masses, and that they certainly do not have any of the freedoms for which Americans fought. Stalin and his Politburo take the view that Russia's basic aspiration is not liberty but self-improvement. The gates of opportunity have been opened to the lowest worker and the most backward peasant of Russia. The compulsion with which this was accomplished means far less to the Russian than it would mean to the American.

Duranty's new book will not be popular everywhere, but even his opponents will have to admit that he is tremendously sincere and that he has done his very best to present a true picture of what he has seen in Russia throughout the years.

EMIL LENGYEL

(Dr. Lengyel is an Associate Professor at New York University.)

In Anger and Pity
by Robert Magidoff. New York, Doubleday. $2.95.

For over 12 years Robert Magidoff lived in Moscow, working as correspondent for American and British papers, and part of the time for NBC. Last spring, to his surprise, he learned from the pages of *Izvestia* that he was also a "spy," criminally working against the Soviet Union for the McGraw-Hill Publications and the sinister forces of war-mongering America. His female "American" secretary, a Soviet citizen and wife of a Soviet citizen, had denounced him to the authorities.

Magidoff writes about it "in anger and pity"—anger at the stupid and wicked bureaucracy which hatches these clumsy frame-ups in support of the current hate campaign against Americans and foreigners generally; pity for the poor girl who has become their unwilling and frightened tool. This real-life mystery story throws a lurid light on the tragic role of those Russians who serve foreigners in various capacities in order to snatch a little privilege and glamor for themselves, and then become either informers or victims of a watchful, inexorable regime.

Magidoff, like other correspondents before him, was expelled—not because of his alleged contacts with military and naval attachés, but because of his keen discernment and sympathetic understanding of the Russian people, struggling against adversity and the hard conditions of the time. This and his fluency in the language (he was born in Russia), his intimate knowledge of the Russian way of life and Russian psychology, his close friendship with people in many walks of life are what makes his report a valuable addition to the "inside Russia" stories of recent years.

This is essentially a "personal history," and not devoid of romance (the author marries a Russian girl). But there are also arresting profiles of typical and outstanding Soviet citizens, and revealing chapters on Soviet manners, the Soviet concept of "culture," Soviet achievements in literature and art.

Among the most amusing passages is an account of the influence of Emily Post on the military etiquet of the Communist state. And despite the present campaign against the "corrupt and degenerate" culture of the West, the popularity of American books—from Mark Twain to Hemingway—is unabated.

There are some pertinent facts about the state of Russia's war potential and the probable successor to Stalin, who, according to Magidoff, may resign his premiership this year.

"I think," says Magidoff, "no nation in the world detests the thought of another war more than Russia." Yet "Russia is busy turning out several times the volume of war weapons being produced by the United States."

CESAR SAERCHINGER

(Mr. Saerchinger is a well-known author and veteran radio analyst.)

North African Prelude. The First 7,
Years.
by Galbraith Welch. New York, Will
Morrow. $6.00.

To the minds of most general read and most scholars, too, the history of No Africa outside of Egypt is blank as desert sands.

Galbraith Welch, who has spent m years on the forgotten side of the Medi ranean, has delved into rare and anci chronicles to reconstruct events which t and again have decisively affected Euro When in World War II the landing North Africa added yet another chap to its history, she began to write this b which is the first correlated history of entire area from the Atlantic to the R Sea, from the Mediterranean to the Nig It is a blood and thunder history, diz paced and variegated.

While light is thrown in all directio the focus is on the northern coastline tween Marrakesh and Tripoli. Here grim god of Carthage demanded his yea sacrifice. Hence sailed the Vandal, Genser to sack Rome in her turn. Here "Roums," the European Christians, put a last stand against the onrushing M lims, and the romantic Sidi Okba banish the serpents to make room for the city Kairouan. Here the Jewish wonder-woma the Cahena, waged a defensive war on half of Berbers against encroaching Arab Idris fled in disguise to Morocco to fath a saint and found Fez; Ibrahim II cut the heads of his 16 daughters, and t brave Dai came a-conquering for the m terious master whom no one had ever see

Such tales as these and many more a told with an enthusiasm which sometim produces strange anachronisms: the triu virs, for instance, are called the "B Three of Rome." But, as Dr. Hooton Harvard says, there is no reason why ev a scholarly book should sound as if it h been written in church.

Agrarian Unrest in Southeast Asia
by Erich H. Jacoby. New York, T Columbia University Press. $4.00.

In a survey of six Asiatic areas—Jav Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, the Phili pines, and Siam—Dr. Jacoby shows ho the present political unrest can be trac to the disruption of traditional villa economy; how this, in turn, has given ri to national consciousness which resents i terference by European powers, and to r cial pride which refuses subordination.

While giving due attention to the ben fits gained by contact with the West, D Jacoby calls for full political independen and economic emancipation of these cou tries, and a reorganization of agricultur systems, under the guidance of the Unit Nations.

An important book for those who agr with President Roosevelt: "Poverty an where constitutes a danger to prosperi everywhere."

BETTY STON

(Betty Stones is a cultural anthropologi specializing in Asiatic subjects.)

NO DICTIONARY AT ANYWHERE NEAR THE PRICE GIVES YOU THESE FEATURES

- 100,000 Funk & Wagnalls-ested definitions
- A big handbook of Secretarial ractice
- Synonyms, antonyms, abbre-iations, biographical data
- An appendix of over 12,000 eographical names
- 850 illustrations plus useful ables and lists

and

M′· PHA · TYPE the simplest, rest way of showing you how to pro-ounce a word—*literally at a glance.*

HERE is everything you need in a desk dictionary for home, office or school use. And it is at the lowest price ever for a big-sized dictionary. Just think of it—this is the newest, most up-to-date dictionary on the market, a big 950 page book, 6¼ x 9 inches in size, and it is priced lower than ordinary dictionaries which do not have the leading features that this great book contains.

Completely up-to-date

This is not a pre-war book, but a completely new volume, containing such modern words as *jet plane, atomic energy, jive* and *hep.* It includes such prominent living people as *Clement Attlee* and *Chiang Kai Shek,* and even lists *Israeli* which was not declared a state until May 1948.

The definitions given are accurate and clear—the result of fifty years of dictionary making which gives Funk & Wagnalls the "know how" to do such a job. All words are given in one alphabetical order which saves you from searching through footnotes, special classifications and other labyrinths to find what you want. The book is tailored for handy, everyday desk duty at home, in school or in the office.

EM′·PHA·TYPE makes pronunciation easy

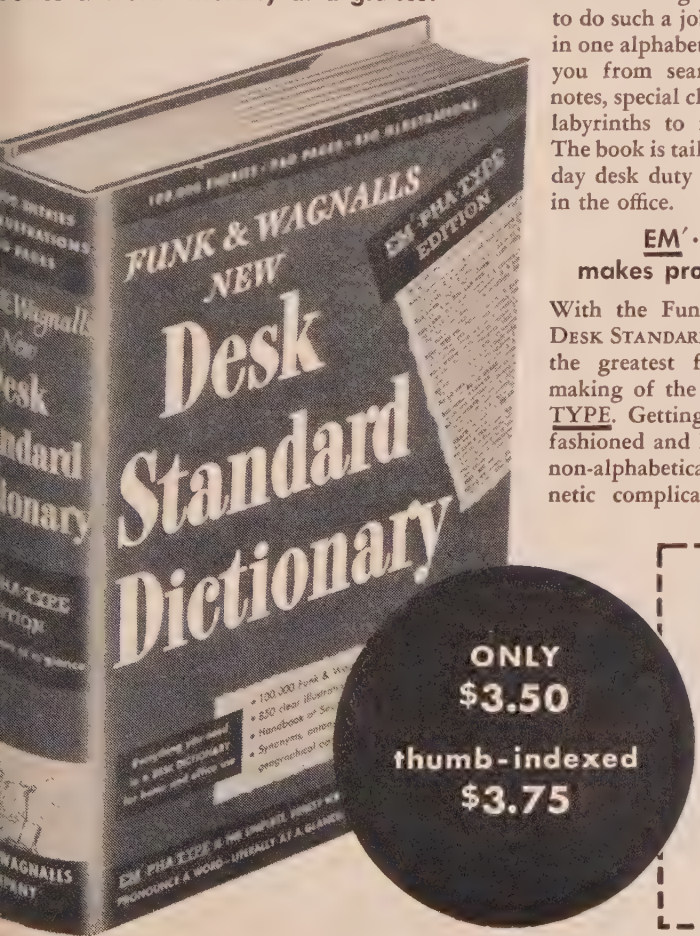
With the Funk & Wagnalls NEW DESK STANDARD DICTIONARY you get the greatest feature in dictionary making of the century—EM′·PHA·TYPE. Getting away from the old-fashioned and hard to follow use of non-alphabetical symbols and phonetic complications used by ordinary dictionaries, EM′·PHA·TYPE shows you how to pronounce words *literally at a glance.*

Handbook of Secretarial Practice

One of the most valuable features of this big dictionary is a complete, 15 page Handbook of Secretarial Practice, giving full information on such things as capitalization, punctuation, business letter forms, proofreaders marks and dozens of other such material. This is another of the unique features that increases the usefulness of this book as a Desk Dictionary, putting at your fingertips the information you need on office procedure.

See it at your bookstore

The Funk & Wagnalls NEW DESK STANDARD DICTIONARY is sold in bookstores from coast to coast. Ask to see a copy and compare it with any other dictionary on the market for value and usefulness—and price. If you do not live convenient to a bookstore, you may use the coupon below for a ten day FREE examination of the book.



FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY UN449
153 East 24th Street, New York 10, N. Y.

Please send me a copy of Funk & Wagnalls NEW DESK STANDARD DICTIONARY in the edition I have checked. At the end of ten days I agree to remit the price, plus a few cents postage, or return the book postpaid.

☐ Regular edition $3.50 ☐ Thumb index $3.75

If remittance is enclosed, we will pay the postage. Same return privilege, of course.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... ZONE ..... STATE .....

POSITION .....

COMPANY .....

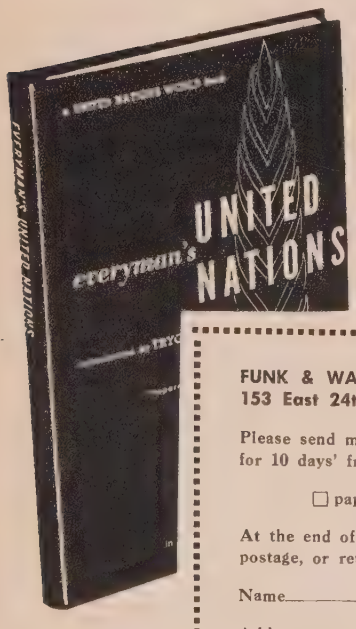
An indispensable guide to the **UN**
—the one organization today which holds out hope to man

everyman's UNITED NATIONS

Prepared by the UN Department of Public Information
With an introduction by TRYGVE LIE, Secretary General

HERE is an accurate, informative, authoritative guide to the United Nations, its purposes and principles, its functions and powers . . . written for all the "peoples" of the world, in whose name the UN was founded.

Everyman's UNITED NATIONS deals not only with the political and security aspects of the UN, so frequently highlighted in the world's press. It also explains those less spectacular but no less important efforts to improve economic and social conditions . . . to remove the barriers to world trade . . . to eradicate social evils . . . to be sure that accurate information shall be freely available. It discusses in some details the special agencies — those inter-governmental organizations working in the economic, social, educational, health and related fields, which are linked by agreements with the United Nations. It furnishes a selected bibliography of UN publications.



A
UNITED NATIONS
WORLD BOOK

■ It is up to all of us to help make the UN work. To do so we need factual information about what it is, its purposes, principles, functions and powers. Here it is in this splendid book. Paper-bound, $1.00. At all bookstores, or send this coupon.

FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY
153 East 24th St., New York 10, N. Y.

Please send me _____ copies of everyman's UNITED NATIONS for 10 days' free examination on approval.

☐ paper-bound $1.00

At the end of ten days I agree to remit $_____, plus a few cents postage, or return the book (s) postpaid.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____ UN-449

Vital Books
for Americans

Americans are depriving themselves support the Marshall Plan. They are taki on a tremendous obligation by joining North Atlantic Pact. Latin America is vital concern to them. Greece and Turk are suddenly their "front-line" defenses. T future of Japan and China may well fluence the personal fate of every sin American, and so may decisions of t United Nations.

But how exactly does the Marshall Pl work? What is the *modus operandi* of t North Atlantic Pact? What is the politi program of the Chinese Communists? Wh are the powers of the Security Council?

These are vital questions. The answers a easy to obtain. A greater number of illum nating and authoritative books on intern tional affairs are published in the Unit States than anywhere else in the world.

UNWORLD believes that reading the books has become a national task for Ame cans. In this spirit, it will give particul attention in the future to books dealing wi international affairs and to publishing t comments on important works of the mo authoritative specialists. UNWORLD will al publish monthly a selected list of boo dealing with those subjects. Here is t first one:

General

IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES AND WORLD ORD edited by F. S. C. Northrop. Yale Univers Press, $4.50.
EUROPEAN IDEOLOGIES by Feliks Gross, Phi sophical Library, $12.00.
MOST OF THE WORLD, edited by Ralph Lint Columbia University Press, $5.50.
FEAR, WAR AND THE BOMB by P. M. S. Blacke Whittlesey House, $3.50.
NEW COMPASS OF THE WORLD, edited by Vilhj mur Steffanson, R. E. Harrison & Hans W. Weige Macmillan Co., $5.50.
WORLD IN TRANSITION by G. D. H. Cole, Oxfo University Press, $6.00.

Europe

STALIN & CO. by Walter Duranty, William Sloa $3.00.
IN ANGER AND PITY by Robert Magidoff. Doubled & Co., $2.95.
POLAND STRUGGLES FORWARD by William Can Greenberg, $3.00.

Middle East and Africa

TRIAL AND ERROR by Chaim Weizmann. Harper Brothers, $5.00.
IN SEARCH OF A FUTURE by Maurice Hindu Doubleday & Co., $3.00.
SHALOM MEANS PEACE by Robert St. John. Do bleday & Co., $2.95.
ARABIAN OIL by Raymond F. Mikesell & Hollis Chenery. University of North Carolina Press, $4.0
NORTH AFRICAN PRELUDE by Galbraith Welc William Morrow, $6.00.

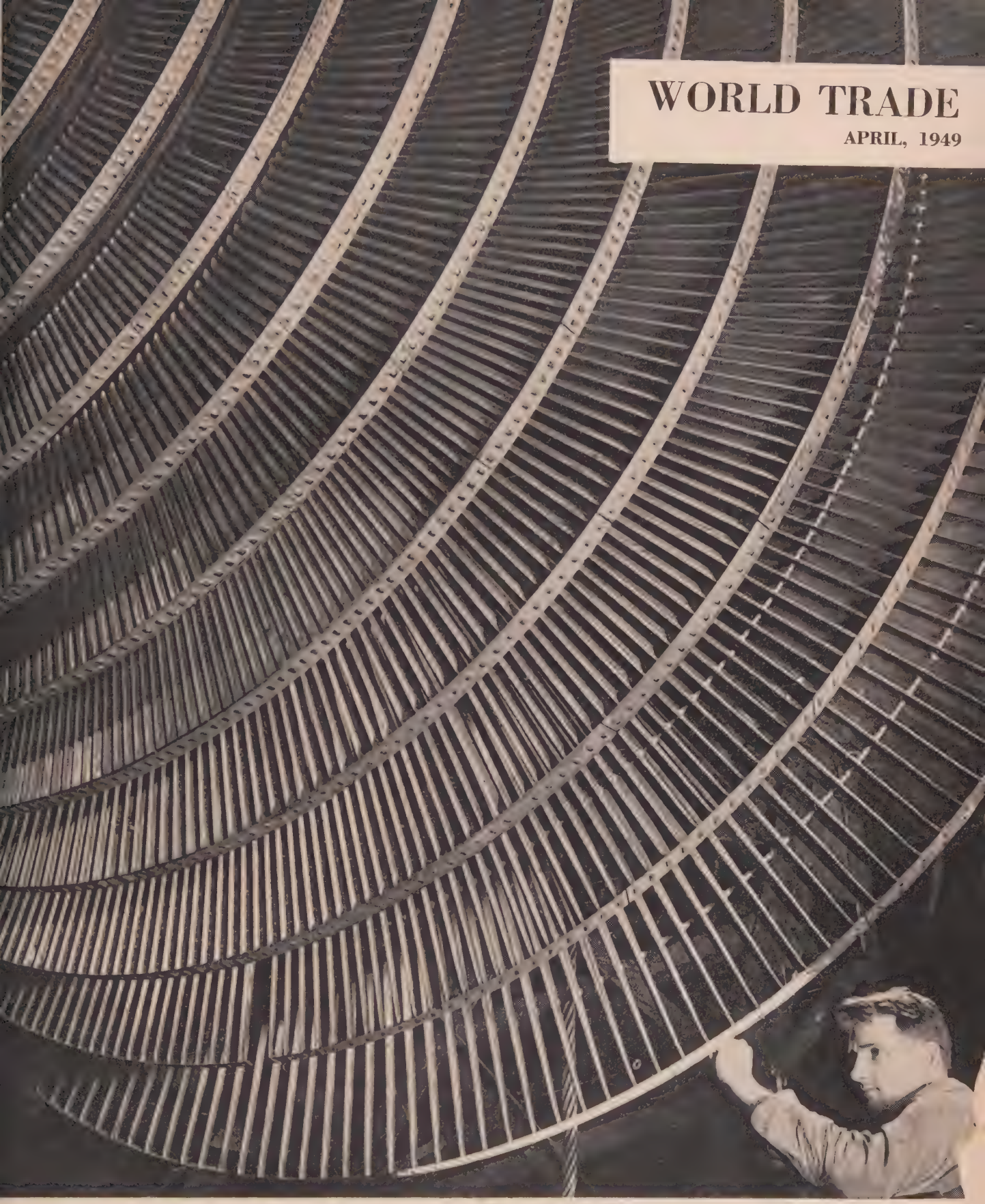
Far East

AGRARIAN UNREST IN SOUTHEAST ASIA by Eri H. Jacoby, Columbia University Press, $4.00.
SOCIAL FORCES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA by Cora Bois. University of Minnesota Press, $2.00.
OUT OF EXILE by Soetan Sjahrir. John Day, $3.0
JAPAN: ENEMY OR ALLY by Macmahon Ball, Jo Day.
PROSPECTS FOR DEMOCRACY IN JAPAN by T. Bisson. Macmillan Co., $2.75.

South America

THE BRAZILIAN ECONOMY by William Speige Philadelphia, Blakiston, $4.50.
WE OF THE AMERICAS by Carlos Davila. Ziff Davis, $3.50.

WORLD TRADE
APRIL, 1949



WORKMAN PUTS HAND-FINISHING TOUCHES ON A TURBINE FOR INTERNATIONAL G.E. AT SCHENECTADY

Telling the American Story *page 52*
BY HERBERT HARRIS *World Business Editor*

Inflation by Taxation *page 46*
Whose Ruhr and Why *page 50*

■ This article is presented in the hard-hitting, to-the-point form which UNWORLD editors have found most effective for stating economic opinion—see "Emil Schram Speaks His Mind" (January) and "There Is No Turning Back"—interview with Prof. Bertil Ohlin (December).

Inflation by Taxation

A PRACTICAL EXPERT ARGUES THAT THE WAY TO STABILIZE THE US ECONOMY IS TO PUT MORE CAPITAL INTO PRODUCTION OF GOODS FOR CONSUMERS TO BUY—NOT TO INCREASE TAX RATES AND THEREBY KEEP NEEDED CAPITAL FROM ENTERING NEW VENTURES

BY FRANK WILBUR MAIN
Senior Partner of Main and Company, for 30 years an authority on taxation

I *There is a growing belief in labor, academic, government and some other circles that business today, notably big business, is "financing itself out of its own fat"; that the siphoning off of profits into "contingency," "depreciation" and "inventory" reserves means that a corporation today tends less and less to go to the public to get new funds to improve or expand plant, and more and more to pay for improvement and expansion from its own capital formations. Hence, it is argued, the historic practice of raising new money by sale of stocks and bonds to the outside investor is being halted, and even reversed. By implication, the amount of investment capital available already is more than sufficient so why try to create more?*

The belief that corporations can finance themselves out of their own "fat" is only a half truth. It is a fact that the majority of corporations, whether small, large or medium sized, which go along in a fairly routine way do expand by using up their own "fat" and only occasionally go outside for new capital. On the whole, however, our larger corporations which develop with the needs of their economic communities—whether regional, or national or international—must look outside themselves in order to fulfill unusual capital requirements.

The whole history of the rise and ramifications of our larger corporations confirms this view. At the moment, we are over-concentrating on our more recent wartime and postwar experience, and thus foreshortening our perspective.

Recently we have been going through a period when the majority of our corporations have been able to finance themselves from their own accumulated current assets, at least to an appreciable extent. During World War II our blue-ribbon corporations in particular made very substantial amounts of money despite the excess profits tax. At the same time, most of them took advantage of tax privileges which allowed capital outlays for war purposes to be amortized over a five year period. Concurrently, the federal government, through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and other media, spent 15 million dollars in new plants which on the whole were operated by corporations already established. This vast sum rendered unnecessary, during the war, capital outlays which otherwise would have had to be made by private companies.

Hence, because corporations of all sizes, notably big ones, were generally able to build up their current assets by means of undistributed earnings, depreciation and amortizations charges together with inventory and other reserves, they were able after V-J Day to make very considerable improvements in their capital goods position without any outside finance.

Nevertheless, a considerable portion of US industrial expansion that came about during the past three years has depended upon long-term bank and insurance loans, the sale of

debentures and bonds. Expansion accomplished through the sale of capital stock has been relatively slight. The result is that corporations are saddling themselves with unduly heavy debt burdens since they have drawn on their own money to improve and enlarge plant and equipment.

With the growth of business, together with a continuing "plateau" of inflationary prices, all of our corporations will require more working capital than ever before. But, with the large sums expended for plant expansion and the accompanying increase in current assets, not enough has been distributed in the form of dividends to make common stocks attractive.

This is a major reason why stock market averages have been very low —and fail to reflect the realistic earning capacity of particular firms.

Moreover, we must realize that when the extraordinary influences of the war and post-war period have waned, it is going to become more and more difficult for corporations to finance themselves out of their own fat, especially if they are going to modernize their plants and equipment and enlarge their operations generally.

Even if it were possible for established concerns to live off their own fat, we would still be lacking the wherewithal for investment in new risk-taking enterprises. Investments of this type are the seedbed of our kind of capitalism. In large measure they have to be made in the form of risk or equity capital. Neither our banks nor our insurance companies can entirely fulfill this need.

THE AUTHOR

Frank Wilbur Main, Senior Partner of Main and Co., is the author of a system of taxation called "Incentive Taxation," which he outlined in UN WORLD in June, 1948. A recognized tax expert, he has been writing on economic subjects for more than thirty years.

2 *Since inflation is a barometer of shortage in goods and services in relation to effective demand, how does the present period of inflation differ from past periods? In the past, the threat of inflation often went with curtailment of output. Now it has developed in a period of high output. Does this result primarily from the multiplier effect of group inflationary pressures, i.e., workers seeking higher wages, farmers seeking higher prices, businessmen seeking higher profits, or is it a result of an unwise fiscal policy?*

Our present inflation does not in essentials differ from past inflations. The fundamentals still apply—the supply of money and credit still exceeds the supply of goods and services. The paradox of today's inflation is that it appeared along with high output—but that output has been too low despite the fact that it is above all previous "highs."

In this respect we should recall that inflation, to use a medical metaphor, is high blood pressure. Deflation is low blood pressure. Our physicians tell us not to worry about low blood pressure—even though the patient gets tired, he can rest, go to bed and build up his health again by means of proper care and diet. But it is the high blood pressure inflation which is the killer.

The current inflation which is still upon us derives from five wartime factors: the increase in prices and wages which are more or less permanent in nature; the increase in population; pent-up demand as a result of war restrictions; rise in living standards; the diversion of materials, manpower, money, machinery to martial pursuits. The postwar factors include the failure to provide an incentive tax structure to free risk capital, to make the federal budget correspond at least to a reasonable extent to national income, the outlay of vast sums as a part of our foreign economic policy.

Naturally, after all our wars there has been inflation. To gain perspective, we might compare the present situation with the postwar periods that followed the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, and World War I.

When Alexander Hamilton was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, the currency had been greatly depreciated. At his insistence, debts amounting to 15-odd million dollars, a vast sum in that day, were assumed by the federal government and paid off entirely during the administration of President Jackson—the first and last time that our federal government was ever out of debt.

The War of 1812 and the Mexican War did not necessitate heavy government expenditures and therefore contributed very little to the federal debt.

The Civil War, however, was something very different. From the time of Lee's surrender at Appomattox until 1914, the federal debt caused by the Civil War remained on an almost even line—a *constant* of about 2 billion dollars.

The Spanish-American War did not appreciably affect our debt or our taxes or our federal budget. To be sure, the latter was constantly rising but with the continuing increase in wealth and population, this didn't matter very much. There was nothing disturbing about it.

It was the First World War which formed our pattern of high federal taxes. On Armistice Day, Nov. 11, 1918, we had a debt of 25¼ billion dollars—a debt which had been reduced to 16 million dollars by 1930. In this connection, however, it must be kept in mind that the US did not participate in the First World War for a very long time, that it did not assume any substantial responsibility in Europe or elsewhere for continued military occupation, that there was no Marshall Plan and that there was a strong, constant, and effective drive to bring the federal budget down.

During World War II, our federal debt rose to the spectacular high of 275 billion dollars. In April, 1945, when we were still at war with both Germany and Japan, I estimated that the federal debt, when the war was over, would hit about 300 billion dollars. If all contingencies and all guarantees had been taken into account, this figure would not have been very far off. During the period from 1932 through 1940, our federal budget varied from 4 billion to 7.8 billion; our national income, from 40 billion to approximately 80 billion. The federal "take" in taxes, excises, customs, etc., was about 11 per cent.

In April, 1945, I submitted the Federal Incentive Income Tax Plan to Congress (UNW, June, '48). It was based upon a postwar national income of 160 billion dollars, and a

Inflation by Taxation *continued*

federal budget of 25½ billion dollars. At that time I was severely criticized for the estimate of both the postwar national income and the postwar budget. You will note that I assumed a federal "take" of about 15 per cent, 25 billion dollars. Whether it is possible for the federal government to take as much as 15 per cent out of our income without constantly "puffing" it up, I do not know. I do know that the federal government can take 11 per cent and should be able to take a little more under a sound taxing system, patterned to peace and not geared to war.

What is generally overlooked is that our federal government can take practically anything that it wants. For instance, if our federal government decided that 100 billion dollars should be raised each year, a very simple way would be to add a sufficient sales tax to our present taxes so that 100 billion dollars could be raised. This 100 billion dollars, naturally, could not be taken out of the 40 billion dollars national income we had in 1932, the 80 billion dollars we had in 1940, or the 215 billion dollars that we have at the present time.

If the US federal government is continuously to take 42 billion dollars or more, or if by chance we have a Third World War, which would increase very greatly federal expenditures, the collection of these vast sums can only result in an inflationary rise in our income.

In my opinion, the federal government should always for extraordinary purposes issue bonds rather than attempt to take the entire expenditure out of current income. This procedure would, of course, lessen the inflationary pressures.

Let me re-emphasize: The philosophy which so many seem to hold that high taxes are deflationary is simply not so. In fact, as I have just demonstrated, the opposite is the case if taxes are increased too greatly.

If inflation hit everyone alike and everybody had a proportionate share of the increased inflationary rise, everybody would be just about as well off. However, inflation never works in that way. Inflation is erratic. Some persons profit but most citizens, in the long run, suffer. This is particularly true of groups who depend on fixed incomes.

Inflation also does not mean that prices cannot go down. If there is overproduction and no buying power, prices are bound to go down.

There is no question that the pressure of workers seeking higher wages, farmers seeking higher prices, business seeking higher profits, all result in increased price rises. However, these pressures are, in my opinion, more the effects of inflation than the primary causes of inflation.

3 *Should excise taxes on luxury products be increased, and what specifically should be done toward getting the entire community to assume the national tax burden on a fair and equitable basis—is Mr. Truman's $6,000 a year an equitable and accurate dividing line between "high" and "low" income?*

In my opinion, excise taxes on luxury products should not be increased. Actually, the line between what is a luxury and an ordinary item is constantly changing. Our economy needs the production of all types of useful articles, as well as all types of luxury articles, if we are to have prosperity. Mr. Truman's $6,000 a year may or may not be a proper "dividing line" between a "high" and a "low" income.

What this country needs is not to draw dividing lines between the rich and the poor, but rather to recognize the fact that, if we are to have a sound taxing economy, essential to high peace production, we must have as much income as is possible in the hands *of all the people* so that they can buy and acquire both goods and services. On the other hand we must have an incentive, on the part of those who can, to invest their surplus not only in old and established enterprises, but in new and risk-taking ones.

4 *Should credit be reduced—swiftly or cautiously — and should spending be kept down by the stimulation of savings?*

I do not believe that credit should be reduced by the federal government. I believe that we should leave it to our manufacturers, our merchants, our bankers, and our professional people to decide the extent of credit that they should give. Very often, a person who may ask for a year's time to pay may be a much better risk than a person who is expected to pay in 10 days.

I am a great believer in the fact that the government should enter business only when absolutely necessary. I agree that we must have traffic regulations and traffic rules in business, just as we have on the highways. As much latitude, however, should be left to the citizens, whether on the highways or in business, as is practicable.

5 *Should interest rates be increased or decreased over the next two-year period?*

My own opinion is that interest rates will gradually rise during the next two-year period. Again, I think that the federal government should interfere as little as possible.

6 *Should the money supply be curbed at this juncture? At the moment that supply is three times that of 1939. On a basis of theoretical mathematics, a rise in prices of 200 per cent would, therefore, be more or less inevitable but this, of course, is not necessarily true since in the years 1800 to 1940 the amount of money in deposits went up 1,750 times, the national income by 110 times, but prices tended generally to decline despite the postwar inflations of 1865-1869, 1899-1901, 1919-1920, and for 1946 so far through to early '49.*

In the light of this historic pattern, what controls to be exercised either by business or by government, or perhaps both working together, should be invoked to diffuse enough purchasing power to ward off any grand-scale competitive bidding for goods in short supply?

I do not believe that our money and credit supply should be curbed at this juncture despite the fact that it now amounts to about 170 billion dollars as against about 61 billion dollars in 1939. On the contrary, this vast reservoir of money and credit should be put to work—not by the government, but by owners of this money and credit through investment in productive enterprise. Ever since

the early '30's, the incentives for such investments have been gradually but progressively removed as a result of our federal fiscal policies in the matter of deficits, business regulations, and controls, debts, and interest rates.

The governors of the Federal Reserve System should act as wisely and as conservatively as they can. I do not believe that Congress can work out any set of rules or regulations which can serve our country as well as own trained bankers can by using their best judgment. If the government is going to take the vast sums it is now taking, there is very little that our Federal Reserve System can do to alleviate inflation.

7 *What influence on inflation have our foreign spending programs such as the Marshall Plan, our outlay of some 15 to 16 billion a year on defense, and the government's projected welfare expenditures?*

Our foreign lending program and our defense costs have a substantial influence on inflation through the increase in the federal budget. I am not discussing now the wisdom of the Marshall Plan or other aid. I think foreign aid is necessary; however, this is only one more reason why we should endeavor to make our federal taxing system as incentive as possible.

8 *How does the spotty decline in prices in foods, textiles, leather goods and in other lines affect the general price level—over the immediate future of six months and over the longer-range future of a year?*

The spotty declines in prices in foods, textiles, leather goods, and some other lines merely reflect the well-known law of supply versus demand.

Food prices have been out of line for a long time with the general price levels. The consumer's price index for food has for a long period been running at about double the 1935-39 index, while this index for all items has risen only about 75 per cent. The leather goods index reached a high of about double the 1926 index, while the wholesale prices of commodities other than farm products and foods had only risen about 53 per cent over the 1926 index. The rise in textiles followed the general average.

The price declines that have taken place since last September, especially in foods and farm products, serve only to mirror the higher output from the vast program of mechanization that has taken place in the past decade, a development largely made possible through federal subsidies to farmers. The inflation in farm products is being cured in much the same way as it can be in other areas—namely by better and more productive methods and facilities, coupled with the incentive to work.

9 *What will happen should arms spending be stepped up beyond the current $15 billion a year?*

Any increase in federal budget, whether for "arms spending," or for other purposes, will more or less automatically add to the inflationary forces.

10 *Over the long haul of the next two years, are we more in danger of inflation or deflation?*

Over the long haul of the next two years, we are, in my opinion, more in danger of inflation than of deflation. We are now in the more troublesome stages of inflation.

Our city, county, and state governments are joining the federal government in expanding their budget requirements. As a consequence, we are facing a substantial increase in taxes—this is all inflationary. This will add to the disposable income of persons. If too much is siphoned off in the form of taxes, personal savings will continue to freeze just as they have in the past decade.

Thus the gap between the quantity of credit money and the volume of production will continue to get further apart, with the inevitable result of price inflation. Our credit money is already top heavy and stagnant. Unless prices can be brought down, not only for "distress goods," but for goods currently produced, it may well be that we will have much more unemployment.

FAT FINANCED. Dupont itself provided the money to build this new nylon plant on the Sabine River near Orange, Texas.

ALSO FAT FINANCED. B. F. Goodrich built this multi-million dollar science and research center at Brecksville, Ohio.

By ALISON OUTHWAITE
German Expert and Correspondent of the London Economist

Whose Ruhr and Why

A British exposition of Europe's workshop

WHAT THE WESTERN POWERS HAVE DONE—

AND WHAT THE GERMANS WOULD LIKE TO DO—

TO RESTORE THE RHINE'S GREAT INDUSTRIAL

CENTER TO A NEW, IMPORTANT STATUS IN THE AREA'S ECONOMY

THREE-AND-A-HALF years after Bomber Command dropped its last load on the Ruhr, the first sensation a visitor has is of wonder that there should be so much fuss about this heap of rubble.

Why should the French fear its industrial might?

Why should the Americans and the British argue about whether its production of steel should be limited in future to 10.7 million tons a year?

And why should the Russians at all costs want a share in its control?

The vast Krupps works, which occupy the whole center of Essen, is a deserted, silent heap of twisted, rusty girders. Surely it could never again produce a gun?

But that is a superficial impression, which must be corrected by closer investigation, and some hard facts. In the first place, though the houses are in ruins, factory and mine chimneys are smoking. The Ruhr is hard at work. Then, too, it must be borne in mind that the Ruhr *is* Germany in so far as heavy industrial power is concerned. In a few square miles centered on this tributary of the Rhine lie the mines and works that produced 80 per cent of Germany's coal, iron and steel before the war, and an even higher proportion now since the Saar has been economically joined to France and Germany has lost Silesia to the Poles.

The Ruhr really deserves the overworked term "unique." Nowhere in the world is there such a concentration of every form of heavy industry into such a small space. Nowhere in the world has that other overworked word "integration" such a real meaning. Every process is interlocked, and nothing is wasted. The gas that is produced in the blast-furnaces of the steelworks is piped to light cities hundreds of miles away. The Ruhr is a masterpiece of efficiency.

The basis of this whole complicated network of industry is, of course, coal. The Ruhr is made of coal, and was second only to Britain as a producer before the war. In the nineteenth century, the great industrial giants of Germany—Krupp, Thyssen, Stinnes, Kloeckner built their iron and steel works on top of the coal.

At that time, and until the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, Germany owned the other essential ingredient for an integrated heavy industry—the iron ore of Lorraine. Those with a good memory for history, such as the French, will recall that after the First World War, the Ruhr—though not devastated as it was in the Second World War—also suffered apparently crippling losses. Not only the Lorraine ore, but a large number of steel works were taken by France.

Nevertheless, the Ruhr was pouring out steel at a record rate, twice as great as Britain's, by the time Hitler launched his campaign against Europe. And long before Hitler came to power, by 1923 in fact—under the noses of the Allied Disarmament Commission—the Ruhr industrialists had prepared prototypes of the arms they intended to produce when the time came, and plans for a swift changeover to mass production were in the secret files of the Ruhr combines.

Their works had been modernized with the American money that poured into Germany during the 'twenties in the form of loans.

More American capital entered Germany than was ever taken out as reparations.

The gloomy palace of the Krupp family which overlooks the Krupp empire from a hill outside Essen symbolizes the nature of the Ruhr's power and the fate that has overtaken it. Called Villa Huegel, this hideous mansion is a 19th century mutation of the homes of the feudal nobility. The vast dark halls, hung with huge oil paintings of the Krupp dynasty, have an atmosphere of exaggerated size and intense gloom.

The Villa Huegel is now the headquarters of the UK-US Coal Control, which is the body which directs the Ruhr mining industry. It is a respected body, largely because of the efficiency of its British head, Mr. H. R. Collins; but there is no doubt that the Germans would rather the Krupp family were in occupation again. Like others of the pioneer industrialists who controlled the Ruhr

combines, Krupps looked after the welfare of their 100,000 workpeople in a generous though very paternal fashion. Their methods suited the German mentality, which does not find dependence irksome.

Most of the big men of the pre-war Ruhr are now dead. The few that survive have been banned from taking part in affairs. The second strings who are now in charge of the industrial companies declare that they never really supported Hitler, and are really internationalists. It is, however, all too clear that their conception of internationalism is not that of the United Nations, or the ERP organization in Paris; it is that of an international cartel such as existed before the war to share out markets among the steel producers of Germany and its neighbors, and maintain prices. This cartel was dominated by the Ruhr, as it produced more steel than France, Britain, Belgium, or Luxemburg. And the Ruhr would like to dominate any future organization of the sort. The nationalist spirit is growing with the revival in production that has taken place in the last six months of 1948.

Up to June 1948 there seemed little need to worry about how to prevent the Ruhr from becoming a menace to European security. In fact, the British and Americans concentrated on an immense effort to pull the Ruhr out of the mire. There never was, in any case, any security problem about coal production; the only aim was, and is, to extract as much as possible. How much was to be kept for the German factories and homes, and how much exported to France and other countries, was laid down by international agreement under the so-called Moscow sliding scale. Incentive schemes were devised. Special food parcels were sent in large quantities as bonuses for the miners who worked particularly well (though the steel-workers, enduring equally bad conditions, had no such extras).

In June, the whole situation changed with the reform of the German currency. Money had previously been practically valueless. It now became scarce, worth working for. Goods that had been hoarded flowed into the shops. There was something to be bought for money.

The result was a bound in production, which at the same time changed the problem of security from a theoretical into an actual question. The Ruhr is now producing as much steel as France, and will soon be producing more. And yet the French, under their Monnet Plan, intended that France should in future keep ahead of the Ruhr. The coal of the Ruhr, the French had hoped, would be brought to the iron ore of Lorraine instead of the other way round.

GERMAN CONSTITUTION AND INTERNATIONAL AUTHORITY

At the same time, in the University city of Bonn, Germans are preparing —extremely slowly—a new constitution, which will establish a German State, with a government. Before it takes office, the future of the Ruhr must be settled. So much was agreed as far back as last June, by the conference in London of the six countries most concerned with the Ruhr —the United States (which is not only an occupation Power, but bears by far the biggest share of the cost of setting Germany on its feet), Britain, France, and the "Benelux" group (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxemburg).

This conference drew up the outlines of an international statute for the Ruhr. Disagreements naturally arose over the difficult question of how to increase German production for the European Recovery Program, and at the same time stop the Ruhr from once more becoming an arsenal. The whole of Europe's trade is thrown out of gear by the lack of the machinery which the Ruhr used to sell to the countries who are now joined together in the Marshall Plan organization. America does not want to go on paying the bill that is the result of the gap left by the Ruhr. The problem is very thorny.

However, after another conference in London, a draft agreement was produced just after Christmas, which establishes an International Authority for the Ruhr. Its chief function will be to decide how much of the Ruhr's products shall stay in Germany, and how much be exported. All security functions will be taken over by a Military Security Board, which is to be set up very soon.

Though the Authority has, apparently, impressive powers, in fact, the deciding voices for an indefinite time to come will be those of the Military Governors of Germany, working through the Boards which now control the coal and steel industries of the Ruhr.

The Germans themselves had no voice in the drawing up of this statute for the Ruhr, which they promptly labelled a *Diktat*. Nor will there be a German representative on the Authority until there is a German Government, and then he will not have the right to vote. Only at a later date, when all the obligations laid on Germany have been accepted, will the German representative be in a position to vote; and even then he will carry no more weight than any of the other individual members.

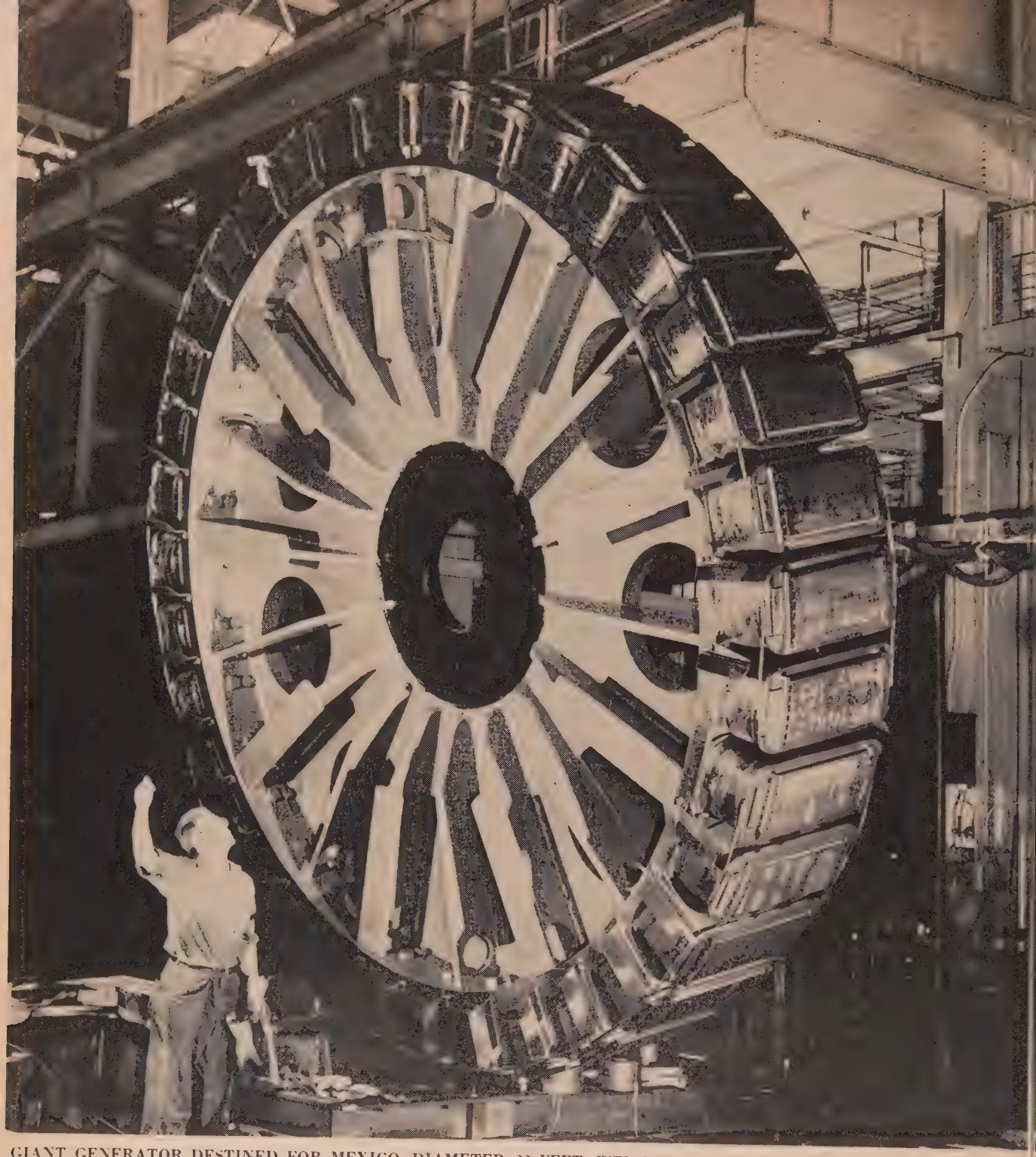
Angry protests, led by the Socialists and Communists, naturally came from leading Germans, when the terms of the statute were announced. Nevertheles, the reception given to the new organization showed that, provided it is worked in a truly international spirit, it may not rouse the Ruhr's active opposition.

The agreement insists very strongly that the nations must not use their powers simply—as the Germans fear—to keep down an unwelcome industrial rival, but for the general welfare of Europe. Moreover, it expresses a hope that the Authority may be the forerunner of similar international bodies.

This idea has been taken up publicly by the Christian-Democrat Premier of the State of North Rhine-Westphalia (which contains the Ruhr). He urged that the whole complex of which the Ruhr is the heart—Lorraine, Luxemburg, Holland, and Belgium should place their heavy industries under an international "company."

Such ideas are in the air in the Ruhr today. But they are not so loudly voiced as the protests which come daily about the dismantlement of steel works. Intense propaganda is in progress to induce the Americans to insist upon the Ruhr's retaining the whole of its remaining industrial capacity. The Americans and British agreed in August, 1947, that the original Potsdam dismantlement plan was a mistake, but that there were hundreds of plants which would be better used in other countries.

The list, however, is being whittled down as the Ruhr climbs on to its feet again and shows that it can produce for the European Recovery Program.



GIANT GENERATOR DESTINED FOR MEXICO. DIAMETER 22 FEET. WEIGHT 54 TONS. 6,000 KILOWATTS AT 167 RPM.

Telling the American Story—

SECOND IN A SERIES

Electricity International

HOW IGE MEANS FOOD TO INDIA

HEALTH TO URUGUAY, CODFISH TO PORTUGAL—

AND LIGHT, POWER, WATER, JOBS

DENTISTS AND EDUCATION TO MEN AROUND THE WORLD

BY HERBERT HARRIS
UNW's World Business Editor

Electricity, as energy, has been to all peoples for half a century the ballad and the source of US technological supremacy. To the non-American mind, it is the touchstone of America's high living standard, that daily miracle which Americans take casually and which others strain toward in a mood of eagerness and emulation.

Today as nations push and heave and struggle to industrialize themselves more rapidly and effectively than ever before, electricity, as energy, is everywhere the practical prime mover. The connection between a new factory and a turbine, between a higher living standard and a toaster, is at once visible and direct. (See Policy Report on World Trends in Electric Power—UNW, November, 1948.)

Many American companies, some so old that their names are now forgotten and others so new that they are not yet generally known, have contributed to this kind of economic advancement. To treat them all, to discuss them all, even to mention them all, would require a work of encyclopedic dimensions. Thus, to dramatize clearly and factually, the ways in which they have promoted man's mastery over nature, UNW presents the story of International General Electric—IGE.

It could have been Westinghouse International or Sylvania or Tobe Deutschmann and the like. The story of each duplicates to a degree that of all the others. However, despite certain basic patterns, common to all, each has its own specific characteristics, and has evolved its own methods in production and promotion and marketing. These stamp their end products with an individuality as distinctive as the mark of a fine craftsman upon the work of his hands. While Westinghouse, for example, may lead in some spheres, IGE may take the lead in others. In the future, as in the past, various aspects of the overseas impact of other branches of the US electrical industry will be discussed. At this time, it would seem particularly appropriate that IGE which is now celebrating its thirtieth anniversary should be the first case-history in a series showing how American industry lifts living standards.

STARTLED by its own size, and the variety of its products, the General Electric Company emerged from World War I in the forefront of US industry. Its new strength displayed that forced growth which Mars historically imparts to tools, technology and training and the markets for all three.

The company's men and volts, its laboratories and machines and appliances had helped the Allies toward victory during that first war which involved, if it did not encircle, all the globe. Yet even as late as the signing of the 1918 Armistice a decisive debate persisted in company councils as to whether or not to set up, with the peace, a separate subsidiary to be devoted exclusively to GE's role in world trade.

To be sure, ever since GE had been formed in 1892 (as a result of the merger between the Edison and Thomson-Houston companies) it had profitably engaged in overseas business from Norway to China to Peru. The inventions of the men who founded GE, the "bottled light" of Thomas A. Edison and the carbon arc lamps of Messrs. Thomson and Houston, could hardly be confined to a single nation or continent.

Electric energy, in its multiple manifestations, was marching its legions of light and power across the earth. It had become the great new universal. The very dynamo which novelists and playwrights invoked as the ultimate symbol of

Electricity International *continued*

mechanized modernity was international in inspiration and origins, having been developed concurrently by the Italian Pacinatti, the Belgian Gramme, the German Alteneck, and the American Brush.

But, because GE's sales abroad had thereto been handled with considerable skill by a foreign trade department within the framework of the GE organization, old-timers in the higher echelons saw no reason for change with the war's end. They were a kind of economic "isolationists." They reflected the view, then widespread in US management circles, that foreign trade was a useful but negative adjunct of business, at best the icing on the cake. Taking issue with this assumption, were GE's "internationalists."

They looked upon foreign trade as a positive and challenging opportunity, in its own right, as a necessary ingredient not in the icing but in the very batter of the business cake. They contended that for both policy and administrative reasons it would be more efficient to centralize into a single independent auxiliary, all of GE's foreign operations, its accounts receivable, its investments, its assets in all parts of the world except the "domestic" market—US, Canada, Alaska and Hawaii.

They argued that a separate entity of this kind would be better equipped to pool and draw upon the specialized knowledge of how to do business under the new tariff and credit and currency regulations and new demands of markets opening up in the wake of war.

In the end, the internationalists won and in January, 1919, International General Electric was formed to conduct GE's operations overseas.

In practical terms, that move meant that 30 years before President Truman proclaimed his famous Point Four as an instrument of public economic policy, an American business had formulated a private economic policy along the same lines. The goals are very alike for both, even if the motivations differ.

President Truman's aim in planning to stimulate industrialization throughout the world is basically political. Its premise is that economic prosperity and progress, and the hope of them, are offsets to Communism and war, and the chaos and and discontents on which both thrive.

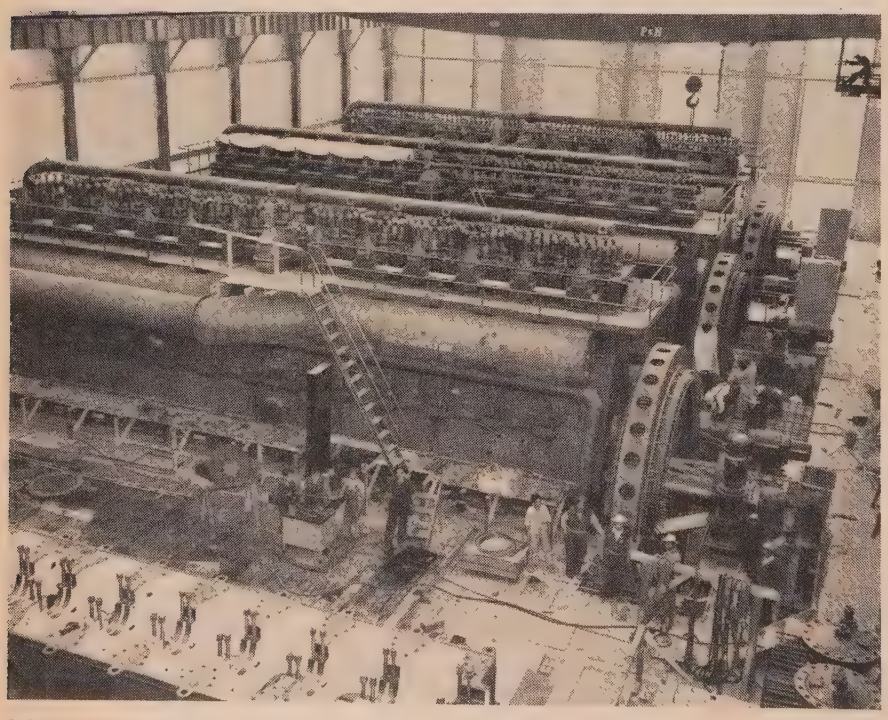
The GE premise was—and is——that it is possible to make fair profits by quickening industrialization throughout the world, notably through the medium of electric power and its multiform uses.

At this juncture in time, space and history, the political purposes of the government and the profit purposes of IGE, together with those of all other US firms with a stake in world trade, have converged. It is more than likely that soon they will be blended, moving together in formal and conscious concert, in a new foreign policy partnership between the US government and US business. As under the ECA, US business will retain its independence in function and in fact.

Today IGE is represented in 73 nations either through its selling or distribution branches or by associated manufacturing concerns many of which IGE helped to establish. Even more importantly, it has developed a trade philosophy and practice that, among other accomplishments, refute with deeds the Marxist doctrine that US capitalism, whether at home or abroad, tends to exploit labor and to depress living standards. In the last few months, for example, IGE has among many similar operations.

■ Sent to Sindri Bihar in India eight 2750 hp synchronous motors to help increase nearly tenfold the output of sulphate of ammonia. This fertilizer is crucially required to fend off India's perpetual threat of famine, to restore the richness of a soil exhausted after centuries of continual drain. Before the installation of these motors, the Sindri fertilizer factory could produce only 40,000 tons of sulphate of ammonia per year, a rate that will go up to 350,000 tons by January, 1950.

■ Delivered in Montevideo, Uruguay, the first mobile health unit ever to reach a South American country. Weighing 10 tons, it consists of a large bus and trailer that contain 19 cases of equipment. This is a com-



FOR MEXICO, Nordberg diesel-engines will drive giant G-E generators to supply the increased demand for electricity in and around the capital city formerly powered by steam turbines and hydroelectric power now threatened by dwindling water supplies.

lete "medical power plant" equipped ith X-ray apparatus for diagnosis nd treatment of tuberculosis and ther afflictions. The unit which is ıe joint property of the Public lealth Ministry and the Institute of ıter-Americans Affairs will travel to emote corners of the country espeially to combat TB, but also to disense other therapeutic services.

Shipped to the Gennevilliers Pow- r Station in Paris the largest turine ever to leave American shores. ō huge was it that it had to be oaded in sections onto 17 droprame freight cars. So heavy was one f its parts, the "stator" of 172 tons, ıat Manhattan's commercial piers ould not handle its weight and the ıip scheduled to carry this cargo ad to put in at the Brooklyn Navy ard which alone had cranes strong nough to transfer it to the hold.

Built in Schenectady on order rom the French Supply Council, ıis turbine will give a strong boost) French living standards. It will urnish enough power to light 2 mil- on household lamps, or enough to rovide the industrial. commercial. ublic utility needs for a French city f 300,000.

Equipped the Aveiro Codfish Plant ı Gafonha de Narazre in Portugal ith 10 refrigeration rooms, each apable of holding 250 tons of codsh. This is rapidly increasing the arnings of both the Averio Plant nd the fishermen who supply it, or it enables the company to store uge catches for canning over long eriods, and thus overcomes the ageld hazard of spoilage.

These are but a representative ampling of more than 5,600 major ales in more than 50 nations during ıe first 10 weeks of 1949. They only ndirectly suggest the other contribuions to 20th century living which GE has made in millions of minor ales—of electric lamp bulbs, flashght and dry batteries, electric irons nd vacuum sweepers and refrigeraors, fans and furnace motors, razors, itchen ranges, radios, and electric elders.

For the underlying raison d'etre or IGE is to market overseas the 00,000 products GE sells—mainly ıe products of its 127 American lants. As is the case with the rest f American enterprise overseas the asic aim is to make a profit, but ıe effect is not only to raise standards outside the US. For the American GE plants employ 197,000, and their incomes are vitally affected by IGE sales abroad. Altogether IGE employs 7,000 abroad—roughly half of whom are engaged in manufacturing.

IGE enters manufacturing among other factors if the purchasing power in a potential-customer country isn't high enough to enable it to buy American-made electrical goods. It is then up to IGE representatives to assess the local consumer potential and to report whether or not local manufacture could achieve sufficiently lower costs to justify the investment of building a factory. (For an account of a typical IGE manufacturing subsidiary see IGE in Brazil on page 57.)

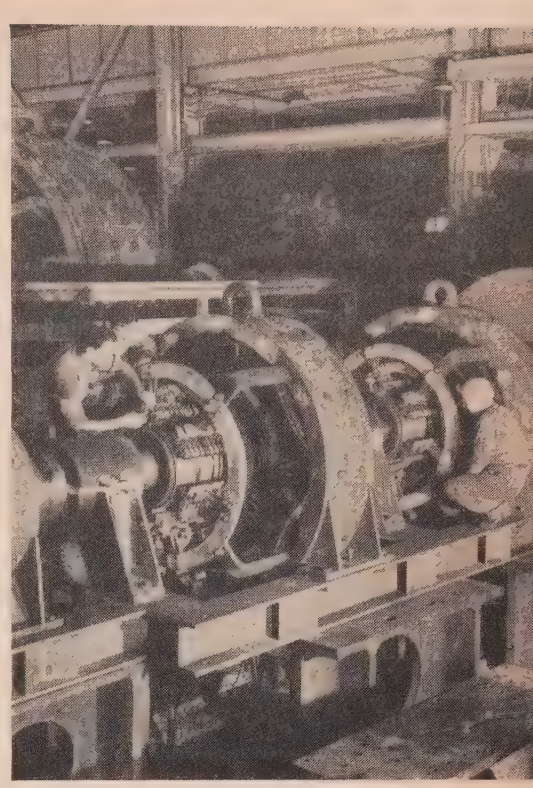
Responsible for 6 per cent of the billion dollars a year sales volume of the entire GE enterprise, and for the millions invested in its warehouses and other properties abroad, IGE through the years has had to cope with autarchy, anarchy, and monarchy; with preferential trade quotas, with blocked currencies and barter, with boom, depression and recession, with inflation, deflation and reflation; with import and export licensing sometimes more capricious than codified; with treaties and a global array of national temperaments—in short with the same essential problems that the US government faces in its Reciprocal Trade Agreements, its support of the ITO, its participation in the World Bank and Fund.

Currently the IGE, for example, has to deal with all the complications of international shipping:

If, under the Marshall Plan, it sells an electric locomotive to the Netherlands state railways, the Dutch will want it shipped on a Dutch bottom. But, under Marshall Plan rules, 50 per cent of all commodities have to be sent via the US Merchant Marine. At the same time, American insurance companies want to cover cargo, whether destined for Stockholm or Samarkand, but the insurance companies in Rotterdam also want this particular business.

There is no Solomon to give IGE help in making decisions in such matters. It has to proceed by means of flexibility and fair play and to distribute its business as wisely and equitably as it can.

From its accumulated lore of 30 years in world manufacture for



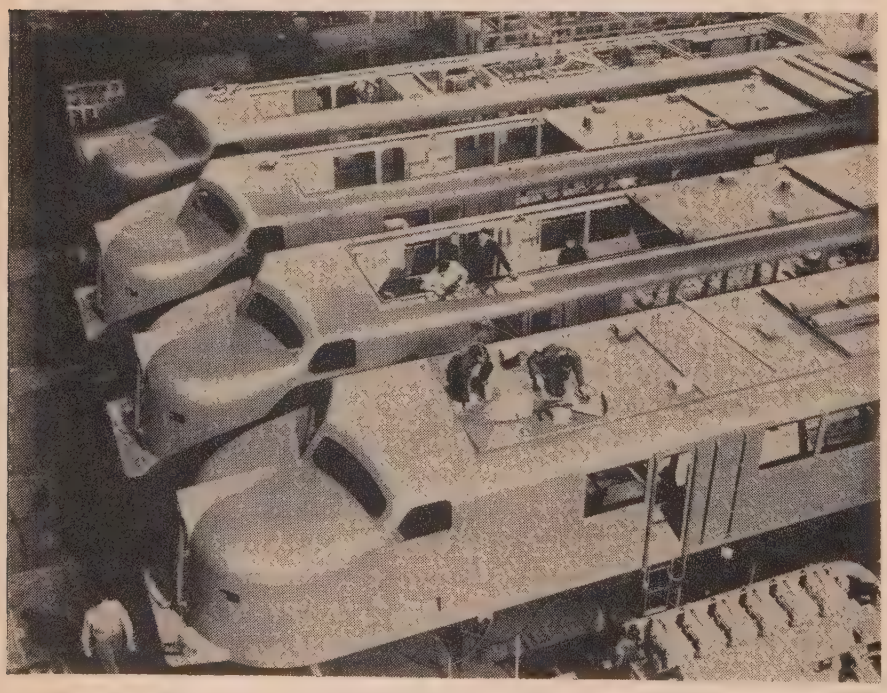
FOR BELGIUM, this IGE motor generator will drive the nation's largest reversing cold strip mill with a 4,000 hp. motor.

FOR RUSSIA, Five GE Vertical Generators (installed in 1932) at Dneproges Station in the Dnieper River Department.

Electricity International *continued*

FOR TURKEY, IGE constructed the motors and controls which keep these Brill Trolley coaches on the job in Ankara. In service since 1947. It employs overhead trolleys.

FOR BRAZIL. These 3,000-volt electric locomotives, each with 8,000 horsepower, are here in the process of being checked before being sent down to Rio de Janeiro by IGE.



world markets, it has learned ab all that foreign trade has to b two way traffic. This is not phil thropy but the most effective guar tee of reasonably regular profits. I representatives are missionaries this preachment. Hence, IGE oppo high restrictive tariffs and favors a and every device which will ma for the freer movement of goods a services around the world.

In its 30 years, also, IGE has come a master of international ec cational techniques. The export wares, IGE soon learned, is ins arable from the export of "kno how." Mechanisms from turbines clocks have to be installed, servic and kept in repair. Consequent for three decades, it has been co ducting training courses for en neers, technicians and mechan from all parts of the globe, eith in Schenectady, New York, or their home grounds.

Starting in 1919, for example, se eral promising French engineers Cie. Française Thompson-Houst were given intensive on-the-job i struction and classroom lectures the Schenectady plants. To qualif they had to be graduates of l'Eco des Arts et Manufactures or Eco Supérieure d'Electricité and sho marked capacity for absorbing ne techniques and communicating ther

By following practices begun the IGE has discovered that methods communicating knowledge of compl cated and advanced processes in vi tually any field, from construction a generator to the protection transmission lines from corrosio could be effectively diffused. Th pattern of schooling, though flexibl is now firmly established. Its 155 graduates from 61 different cou tries have proved its worth:

■ From 1923 forward, there cam from India to take the famous G "on test" instruction, among score of others, such promising student as Mr. Hayath, now chief electrica engineer for the government of My sore; S. N. Bose, now electrical ad visor to the government of Bengal A. H. Kan, now chief electrical engi neer of the Tata Iron and Steel Com pany, Ltd., in Jamshedpur; Aravind ahska Menan, chief electrical engi neer for the government of Cochin.

■ Similarly impressive is the roste of Chinese students who acquire postgraduate grounding in the elec

rical arts and sciences while "on est." Among them are C. H. Chen, now director of the Electricity Administration of the National Resources Commission in Nanking; M. H. Pai, now president of the Yangtze Power Company; P. D. Chang, now manager of the Suchow Electric Line and Power Company; Fountain Chen, the chief engineer of the Chapei Electricity and Water Works in Shanghai.

■ From Australia came K. C. Frazer, now chief engineer of Electricity Authority of New South Wales in Sydney, and E. L. Marigan, principal electrical engineer of the State Electricity Commission of Victoria.

■ In New Zealand, the IGE affiliate provides an annual scholarship for postgraduate studies in electronics at Canterbury College and offers to engineering undergraduates of New Zealand a paid-vacation opportunity to gain practical experience in the shop in the manufacture of electrical ranges, refrigerators, electric irons and other appliances.

■ In Porto, Portugal, the IGE affiliate maintains special classes for physicians and radiologists in the use of X-ray equipment.

These are random samplings of educational activities which illustrate continued spread of knowhow around the earth. Into this program goes all that is new, whether the research findings of a scientist of Steinmetz' stature or the shortcut discovered by a foreman seeking a faster way to frost a bulb.

When in November, 1948, Cardinal D. Jayme Camara of Rio de Janeiro, bestowed blessings upon the new fluorescent lamp tube machine in the IGE affiliate, Fabrica Mazda, his act marked Brazil's recognition that the major hope for industrialization of its stupendous resources (see UNW, March 1949) lies in more and still more electrification.

The IGE's Brazilian venture is a case-history microcosm of its overseas activities. The Fabrica Mazda was established in 1921 on the backlog of a quarter century of business done in Brazil by IGE and its progenitors.

At the outset it was realized that Brazilians were suspicious of the US, colossus of the North and its works and wares and widgets. Then, as now, they wanted to be helped in developing their own industry—they did not want to be patronized. Then as now they were easygoing but very prideful—eager to learn but uneager to be dragooned into it.

Their attitude toward any North American firm is ambivalent—half admiration and half mistrust. Their outlook indeed is a blend of Scottish jurisprudence, the core of which is that "the case has to be proved," and of "I'm-from-Missouri" logic, "You've got to show me."

In the first phase of its operations, when Fabrica Mazda was limited to production of lamps, it had to import all of its materials. Gradually, however, as step by step its operations ramified and it expanded to build transformers, radio apparatus, electric current meters and fluorescent lamps and other standard devices, Fabrica Mazda has been able by means of laboratory research to use domestic materials to an overwhelming extent. It co-operated with Brazilian producers to develop acetone, commercial acids, borax, waxes, dolemite, and oxides of lead copper and magnesium sufficiently pure and uniform to be used in Fabrica Mazda's production.

In this process Fabrica Mazda helped to encourage and build up many aspects of other Brazilian industries. Moreover, in the course of laboratory experiments, processes have been devised for completely new industries, special ink solvents, insulating varnishes and for the drawing of tungsten wire to enable Fabrica Mazda to turn out the filaments for incandescent lamps which were its first product.

Necessarily, all of Fabrica Mazda's operations require high precision on the part of both machinery and workers. A single drop of water spread over half a million lamps can cause them to turn black in use. A variation of .0025 mm in the diameter of a filament can reduce the life of a lamp by 25 per cent.

Since Fabrica Mazda has only 14 Americans among 1500 employees, a ratio which has prevailed from the very start, the task of acquainting accountants and bookkeepers, engineers and machinists, laboratory researchers and foremen and assembly line operators with the methods developed by GE in the United States at first appeared to be almost too formidable.

But the myth that any particular people has a monopoly on inborn aptitudes for the mechanical was soon exploded. The plasticity of human material, and the educability of anyone with the will and intelligence to learn, were basic assumptions of IGE. They are concepts which its success seems firmly to establish.

Training methods which prove efficient in the United States prove almost equally efficacious in Brazil. Perhaps the basic difference is that the American employee, exposed from childhood to gadgetry, to mechano sets and to such household utensils as toasters, and electric ranges, tends to "take" more readily to machinery. But this is an environmental, not a chromosomal trait.

To achieve and maintain harmonious labor relations, Fabrica Mazda applied GE principles insofar as these were consistent with conditions in Brazil.

■ Medical and dental and eye care are furnished free of charge to every employee and all members of his or her family. Medicines are supplied at cost.

■ A suggestion box system with cash prizes determined by a committee of engineers has elicited many recommendations to improve both production and morale.

■ The plant restaurant serves well-balanced meals at the cost of .90ck cruzeiros (about 5 cents) for breakfast and luncheon, the company taking a 50 per cent loss on every plate.

■ The company maintains a plant library of books and magazines in Portuguese and English.

■ It conducts training courses and classes in first aid. It gives special instruction to graduates of Brazil's engineering schools, and offers apprenticeships leading to upgrading for minor employees.

■ It trains electrical technicians not only for itself but also for virtually all other industrial organizations in Brazil, including Rio's trolley company (Companhia de Carris Luz e Farca do Rio de Janeiro) and the Volta Redonda steel mills. It likewise trains salesmen and repair men for wholesale and retail outlets.

The improvement in living standards which results from the activity of IGE abroad, as well as that of other American firms supplying electrical equipment overseas, would seem to show to the impartial ob-

IMAGINE... an office dictating machine...

only this long... **and this high!**

AND THE AMAZING NEW DICTAPHONE **TIME-MASTER** RECORDS ON A REVOLUTIONARY PLASTIC BELT!

• So big? No—so *small!*

This streamlined beauty is a *complete* office dictating machine. Yet it's so small it will tuck away in your desk drawer—and so comfortably portable you can take it anywhere, easily.

And the Time-Master records on a plastic belt smaller than your hand—the clearest dictation known to man or secretary.

The tiny Memobelt is the only plastic dictating medium that assures *both* uniform tonal clarity from beginning to end, and instant, uniformly measured backspacing.

And Time-Master dictation is so easy—so effortless. All you do is relax, press a button and *talk your work away.*

TAKE IT HOME AT NIGHT — OR OFF ON A BUSINESS TRIP!

Nothing can match the Time-Master for *all* dictation—anywhere. It's just right for office or home—and made to order for the road. You can mail your voice from home or hotel to office. Memobelts fit your regular business envelope and can be dropped down standard mail chutes.

One look at the revolutionary TIME-MASTER — and you'll agree . . . it's radically new, different, *better!*

Dictaphone Corporation
International Department
420 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y.

☐ Please send name of representative.
☐ Please send TIME-MASTER literature

Your Name _____

Company _____

Address _____

DICTAPHONE

Electronic Dictation

Only Dictaphone Corporation makes Dictaphone* Machines.
(*Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.)

server that US capitalism, motivat by its own profit seeking in forei markets, helps substantially to p pel the world drive toward econon advancement.

American capitalism may be, its critics say, immune to idealis But its emissaries usually displ that almost instinctive impulse share and show, which is an inten ly American characteristic stemmi from a pioneer inheritance. Mo over, as by-product of their parti pation in the industrial developme of other countries, US industrialis display an ever-growing awarene and grasp of the differences and r semblances of other peoples, of the politics and diplomacy, of their cu toms and moral values that, take together, do much to shape the trenc of the world economy.

Recently, for example, W. R. H rod, President of IGE, declared:

"We do abhor, and properly s deception, intrigue, brutality an an attitude that the end justifies an means, particularly where such i volves a lack of consideration of ele mentary human rights and dignity We abhor these qualities whethe they are identified with Fascists Nazis, Communists, religious zealots or others.

"It is when Communists, or an other group, adopt such tactics, tha they earn the condemnation and op probrium of civilization. But w must take care that, because of ou condemnation of such qualities, w do not force upon western Europe and other countries, a 'Hobson's choice' between Russian Communism and American capitalism as the only ostensible alternatives.

"Such a choice is not necessarily the only one. Many of the countries of western Europe and elsewhere, although likewise abhorring the methods employed by the Communists, are milder in their reactions to Socialism, and do not want American-type capitalism. Hence, if we force such a limited choice upon other countries, we will tend to divide the world along unhappy and unnatural lines, and probably not promote our own interests. But a 'third force,' or Western Union in Europe, could, with decency and respect, have its own balance between capitalism and socialism, based on its own institutions, and could present many advantages."

THE UNITED NATIONS

By James Thorn

President of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and New Zealand High Commissioner to Canada.

This is Quasi-World Government

Free, friendly, voluntary co-operation of sovereign states is the 20th century's closest approach to Utopia

THE United Nations was created little more than three years ago. The terrible ruin which the war brought about, and the impoverishment and starvation which followed it, have raised problems which cannot be dissipated by a miracle. Civil war in China and the fighting in Palestine have added to the gravity of these problems, and to make matters worse there has now been superimposed on these difficulties the "cold war," which has so regrettably broken down the unity of the nations that fought against the tyrannies of Hitler and Mussolini.

THE AUTHOR—LABOR PARTY LEADER AND EX-ROUGH RIDER (BOER WAR)

All these considerations must be weighed if a reasonable judgment of the work of the United Nations so far is to be made. They hamper its progress and cut right across its activities. They have borne down upon the Economic and Social Council [ECOSOC] and made impossible the rapid progress which is so much desired by those who have a conscience and who suffer in face of the calamitous conditions that prevail.

With so short a life, the Economic and Social Council has not yet emerged from the weaknesses which affect all organizations in the early stages of their work.

When the delegates of the eighteen nations represented on the Council first met, they were more or less strangers to one another. Friendship could only develop through personal contacts, and eight sessions have been required to give the Council the character of understanding it now possesses. Further, these delegates came from countries whose economic and social systems stood at various levels; some were backward, others were advanced—a condition certain to complicate any effort to give an upward turn in human relationships. Again, the Council's rules of procedure needed the test of experience to determine whether they provided a businesslike means of de-

Quasi-World Government *continued*

bate and facility in reaching decisions. It is now known that these rules are not satisfactory and their improvement is a certainty. Another handicap has been the multiplicity of the problems which have pressed upon the Council for its attention. At this and the last session the agenda included over fifty items, covering questions of the widest range and very great complexity. As the Council sits for only three months in the year, the delegates work under a strain at least as great as that which burdens any dutiful member of Parliament or Congress.

Nevertheless, the Council's achievement has been creditable. It has brought into relationship with itself a large number of competent bodies, without which any enlightened organization of the world would be inconceivable. It has laid the foundations for fruitful work in the future. Through the International Children's Emergency Fund and the United Nations Appeal for Children, which it sponsored, it has brought tangible benefits to millions.

Associated with it are several bodies created by the United Nations on the Council's recommendation. Some of these are:

- The Economic and Employment Commission.
- The Narcotics Commission.
- The Population Commission.
- The Statistical Commission.
- The Transport and Communications Commission.
- The Fiscal Commission.
- The Social Commission.

The membership of these Commissions is elected by the Council and 40 nations are represented on them. They all report their activities to the Council, and their work is urgent and important.

Also connected with the Council, and coming within its jurisdiction, are ten Specialized Agencies, with another, the International Trade Organization, now in process of formation. These agencies are:

- The International Labor Organization.
- The World Health Organization.
- The Universal Postal Union.
- The International Civil Aviation Organization.
- UNESCO.
- The International Maritime Consultative Organization.
- The International Refugee Organization.
- The Food and Agriculture Organization.
- The International Monetary Fund.
- The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

These are all world organizations financed not by the United Nations, but by contributions paid by their member states, and they work under agreements with the United Nations. They report regularly to the Council, and at the Council sessions their principal officers attend to make statements, answer questions and reply to criticism. To co-ordinate the work of these agencies is a labor of considerable magnitude which has been carried out with remarkable success.

Shortly after the termination of the war it was felt desirable to establish a special form of organization to reach solution of the frightful problems in war-devastated areas. Hence, on the recommendation of the Council, the Economic Commission for Europe and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East were brought into existence.

The first has been somewhat overshadowed by the European Recovery Plan, and the second has worked under difficulties easy to be imagined. In 1947 the Council decided to extend this activity to under-developed areas, and it set up the Economic Commission for Latin-America.

It also appointed a Committee to report on the economic resources of the Middle East and on the desirability of establishing an Economic Commission for that area. These Commissions are in touch with the problems of the vast territories in which they operate, and the policies they deem essential for development must come before the Council for its decision.

But this is not all. Scores of non-governmental organizations with interests of infinite variety are attached to the Council in consultative status.

The diversity of the Council's interests in any of its sessions may be indicated by some of the items on its present agenda. Among the are:

- The World Economic Situation.
- Development of and Technical Assistance to Underdeveloped Areas.
- Survey of Forced Labor and Measures for its Abolition.
- Translation of the Classics.
- Equal Pay for Equal Work.
- Old Age Rights.
- Food Production.
- Trade Union Rights (covering proposed ILO Convention).
- Infringements of Trade Union Rights.
- Report of the Central Opium Board.
- Application of Ceylon for Membership in UNESCO.
- General Assembly Resolutions regarding Human Rights.

The Council is becoming a more compact and workmanlike organization. This is not to say that there are no acute differences of opinion. On such a Council these are to be expected, and when they are expressed no one has a right to object, even though the language used is not precisely parliamentary. Even in the British House of Commons, the Mother of Parliaments, strength of feeling and conviction is not, in its expression, confined to compliments and loving-kindness!

An instance of the improvement in debating standards in the Council was the recent three-day discussion of the World Economic Situation. This was conducted at a uniformly high level. Lapses into denunciation were very few. In the result, the speeches gave a picture of the problems with which our world is afflicted, possible solutions were suggested, helpful proposals were advanced. Nothing could have been better for Governments seeking guidance as to how to act. As time passes, the Council will increasingly adhere to this standard, and so add to its reputation.

What is needed now to give the Council life and authority is the active support of public opinion. Only when millions of ordinary people rally to it because they know of its decisions and approve of them will it influence effectively the Governments who have the power to legislate. To achieve this is the task of every man and woman who has a vision of the good society.

Security Council

INDONESIA: The UN-Netherlands-Indonesia tug of war continues. The Dutch stubbornly persist in attempts to achieve a settlement directly. It's a local matter, they say (see page 24).

ATOMIC ENERGY: The UN commission which quit trying to break its own East-West deadlock last May only to be told by the General Assembly to try and try again, has adopted a three-part Canadian proposal designed to facilitate conference work. It did not adopt—by the usual 9-2 vote (USSR and Ukraine SSR)—a Soviet proposal that the Commission draft two conventions, one for prohibition of atomic weapons, the other for control of atomic energy, both to be put into effect simultaneously.

ISRAEL: The Egypt-Israel armistice sparked Security Council approval of Israel's membership. The vote, 9-1—Egypt against, Britain abstaining. Final court, the General Assembly.

KOREA: The Republic (South), recognized by General Assembly resolution last December 12, is also up for UN membership. USSR and Ukraine, damning it as a "puppet regime," oppose, suggest instead that the Council consider an application from North Korea. Vote on both matters 8-2. The UN Commission on Korea meanwhile is seeking USSR aid in establishing contact with North Korea. Progress to date, nil.

TRIESTE: A USSR proposal to appoint Col. Hermann Flueckiger, ex-Swiss Minister to Moscow, Governor of Trieste, got a cool welcome from Western members, became so lost in invective, that it was not even put to a vote. Colonel Flueckiger was first proposed in 1947—and by the British. Since, then, however, the US, UK, and France have gone all out for returning Trieste to Italy. Their explanation: the Yugoslav Zone of Trieste has "deteriorated" so that the original plan is no longer workable.

PACIFIC ISLANDS: A ticklish question, the Security Council's relation to strategic areas under trusteeship (to date only the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands administered by the US) was settled—for the moment—on March 7. Hereafter the Trusteeship Council will have a hand, but the Security Council will see all questionnaires destined for these territories and receive the reports. Three countries abstained from voting—Egypt, USSR and Ukraine. Egypt felt the importance of the Trusteeship Council was not clearly emphasized. The USSR and Ukraine objected that the resolution overreached itself by going into future, undetermined trusteeships.

PALESTINE: After six weeks negotiations on the Island of Rhodes, Acting UN Mediator Dr. Ralph Bunche won Israel-Egypt signatures on February 24, to a General Armistice Agreement. Three Egyptians, three Israelis and the head of the Truce Supervision Organization will administer the agreement.

Fifteen days later Transjordan and Lebanon signed preliminary cease-fire contracts with Israel. Iraq, Syria and Saudi Arabia have indicated intent to abide by Arab League decision.

Trusteeship Council

EDUCATION, CULTURE AND DISCRIMINATON were the concern of the Council during late February and March. Curiously, more warmth was engendered by the first two than the third. Reason: the Council, after studying the sharply critical report of its investigating mission to Ruanda-Urundi (Belgium) deferred decision until "comments" (euphemism for defense brief) can be filed by Belgium. It is expected that the same favor will be extended to the UK on Tanganyika. Indicative of forthcoming fireworks, the Council formally, in advance of decision, requested Belgium to review its discriminatory legislation.

Discussion of reports on five trusteeships—Togoland (see page 1) and Cameroons (both British), Togoland and Cameroons (both French) and Western Samoa (New Zealand) roused the sleeping dogs of education and culture. Though its conclusions are not yet formulated, the Council indicated their direction by: 1. sympathetic hearing given Abdullah Bakr, Iraqi, who argued for development of indigenous culture in the French Togoland and Cameroons; 2. same given Victorio Carpio, Philippines, who demanded acceleration of political and economic development in Western Samoa where, he pointed out, the literacy rate is already high; 3. establishment of a four-man commission to study education in Africa—with special reference to setting up an all-African University for trusteeship peoples by 1952.

Specialized Agencies

WHO will have a $17 million program for 1950 if the World Health Assembly in June approves the action taken in March by its Executive Board in Geneva. This will be an increase greater than 1000 per cent—$1,403,000 being the '49 budget. The big spending would put WHO side by side with FAO in fighting the related food and health crisis—probably the greatest long-term problem the world faces (see UNW November, 1943).

FAO, out to increase supplies of edible cereals, set its International Rice Commission to work March 7 at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok. FAO's Director Norris E. Dodd (see "Let There Be Bread"—UNW, February) was on hand. In Cali, Colombia, FAO sponsored a February conference on grain storage. Aim: co-operative action for protection of stored grains from mold, insect, rodent damage.

UNESCO now offers radio stations a "canned" weekly 15-minute program, "World Review." Typical broadcast: inauguration of a "Chopin Year" by the Polish National Radio.

UNESCO is promoting an agreement to remove all customs duties and other restrictions on importation of films, sound recordings, slides, maps, posters, other educational materials.

THE INTERNATIONAL BANK for Reconstruction and Development granted a $16 million loan to Belgium to enable one electric and two steel companies (private firms) to build plants in the industrial district of Liege.

IRO reports that, from July 1, 1947, to December 31, 1948, it found homes for 414,605 refugees—60,319 repatriated, the rest resettled. Greatest numbers went to UK (80,865), Palestine (73,972), Canada (48,540).

Economic and Social Council

THE STENCH of dungeons, the clank of chains, the swish of the lash invaded the sessions of ECOSOC last month. The degredations of slavery were attributed to the USSR by the American Federation of Labor through US delegate Willard Thorp. "State slavery" was the charge. The USSR was accused of holding 8 to 14 million persons in forced labor camps. Denouncing this as Goebbels-like propaganda, Thorp's opposite number—Simeon C. Tsarapkin—blasted back at chain gangs in the American south, social and economic discrimination against Negroes throughout the US, peonage in Latin America. On this plane the debate continued for three weeks—hoarse, accusatory, articulate, repetitious. In the end, 14-3, the Council accepted a combined Australian-US resolution that the Secretary General and the ILO get UN member governments to indicate how far they would co-operate in an impartial investigation of slave labor.

Why the Atlantic Pact

CANADA'S FOREIGN MINISTER EXPLAINS HIS COUNTRY'S DECISION TO JOIN

Not to make war— but to wage peace

BY LESTER B. PEARSON

■ Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, author of this exclusive article, has just presented to his government an analysis of the UN which is regarded as a masterpiece by world diplomats.

THE people of Canada want a North Atlantic Treaty not so that they can successfully wage war, but so that they can successfully wage peace. The people of Canada know that, by their own unaided efforts, they cannot—no matter how great the effort they make, how large the armed forces they maintain, how inoffensively they behave—maintain their peace, their security, their freedom. In order to maintain their peace, their security and their freedom, the people of Canada know that they must pool their risks and their resources with those of the other North Atlantic democracies. This, for us, is a new venture. But it is also a new adventure. It is an adventure in the building of a new community—the North Atlantic Community.

The members of the United Nations, by ratifying the Charter, conferred on the Security Council of the United Nations primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It was hoped at the San Francisco Conference that the United Nations, through the Security Council, would be able to achieve this end. During 1946 and 1947 it became clear, however, that this hope could not be realized in the near future. On 18 September 1947, speaking in the opening debate in the General Assembly, the Prime Minister of Canada, then Secretary of State for External Affairs, emphasized the growing feeling in Canada and in other countries that the United Nations, because of the experience in the Security Council, was not showing itself equal to the task of promoting international confidence and ensuring national security and that the democratic and peace-loving states might have to unite in an association in which each would accept more specific international obligations in return for greater national security. Subsequent events did nothing to dispel this feeling.

These events led Mr. Bevin to declare in his speech of 22 January 1948 that the Soviet hostility to the European Recovery Programme and Soviet obstructionism over the German settlement had convinced the United Kingdom Government that the time had come to go ahead with plans for closer political and economic unity of willing Western European States. Hastened in their negotiations by the Communist seizure of power in Czechoslovakia in February, and the Soviet pressure for a treaty with Finland, the United Kingdom, France and the Benelux States signed the Treaty of Brussels on 17 March.

Under this Treaty, each of the signatory governments undertook that if any of them should be the object of an armed attack in Europe the others would, in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter, afford the party so attacked all

military and other aid and assistance in their power.

Article 51 of the Charter recognizes the inherent right of collective self-defense, if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. This article was inserted in the Charter at the San Francisco Conference at the initiative of the American Republics.

On the day the Brussels Treaty was signed, Mr. MacKenzie King, who was then Prime Minister of Canada, supported the Treaty in the House as "a partial realization of the idea of collective security by an arrangement under the Charter of the United Nations," and he assured the peoples of all free countries that Canada would "play her full part in every movement to give substance to the conception of an effective system of collective security by the development of regional pacts under the Charter of the United Nations." On the same day, the President of the United States, in a report to Congress on the critical nature of the situation in Europe, gave the Treaty his full support and expressed his confidence that the United States would extend to the free nations the help which the situation required.

During the months that followed, members of the Canadian Government, in a series of public statements, made clear the gravity of the international situation, and the general lines of the kind of North Atlantic Treaty, which the Government considered would meet the dangers confronting the free countries of the West. They also made clear the implications to Canada of such a Treaty.

Meanwhile, the Senate of the United States had been considering a resolution introduced by Senator Vandenberg. This resolution, which was adopted by the Senate on June 11 by a vote of 64 to 4, set forth six objectives of United States foreign policy. Three of these objectives were directly related to proposals for a North Atlantic security pact. They were:

"Progressive development of regional and other collective arrangements for individual and collective self-defence in accordance with the purposes, principles and provisions of the Charter."

"Association of the United States by constitutional processes with such regional and other collective arrangements as are based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, and as affect its national security."

"Contributing to the maintenance of peace by making clear its determination to exercise the right of individual or collective self-defence under Article 51 should any armed attack occur affecting its national security."

On 6 July, a little over three weeks after the adoption of this resolution, representatives of Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States met in Washington for the first phase of a series of informal, non-committal and exploratory talks on security problems of common interest in relation to the Vandenberg Resolution.

By the beginning of September, these talks had reached the point where it was agreed that it would be desirable that they should be recessed to give the Governments an opportunity to consider the tentative views which had been developed.

As a result of its study of the question, the Canadian Government, at the beginning of October, informed the other participants in the Washington discussions that Canada was ready to enter into negotiations for a regional treaty for collective security with them and with other North Atlantic States. On October 26, the Consultative Council of the Brussels Treaty Powers, consisting of their Foreign Ministers, announced that they were in complete agreement on the principles of a defensive pact for the North Atlantic and the next steps to be taken in this direction. On December 10 the informal and exploratory conversations were resumed in Washington and, as this article is being written, are still continuing.

The next stage will be a careful study by each government of the draft and then the holding of a formal conference, presumably of Foreign Ministers, at which each government will be free to put forward proposals for amendment of the draft treaty text, and at which the Treaty will be signed. It will then be for each government to submit the Treaty to its legislature for approval prior to ratification.

The chief objective of the Canadian Government during the discussions in Washington has, of course, been to establish, within the framework of the United Nations Charter, a treaty for collective self-defense among the North Atlantic countries, based on continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, and to strengthen the national security of each contracting state by the establishment, under the Treaty, of joint agencies, which would in peace-time be agencies of recommendation and which could in war-time become agencies of military decision. The work of these agencies would serve to strengthen the individual and collective capacity of the North Atlantic Allies to resist aggression. The agencies would, we hope, begin their work as soon as the Treaty has come into force.

One point which we have constantly emphasized is the importance which we attach to the inclusion in the Treaty of provisions for the encouragement of peacetime co-operation among the signatories in the economic, social and cultural fields.

Co-operation in economic matters should help to ensure that the combined production of goods and services by all the North Atlantic Allies is as great as possible. This is particularly important at a time when an increasing proportion of this combined production must unhappily be devoted to preparations to resist aggression. Effective consultation, co-operation and common action in economic, social and cultural matters would not only, in our opinion, contribute to the common welfare but to the common defense, because it would help to create in the North Atlantic Community a dynamic counter-attraction to totalitarian communism—a free, prosperous and progressive society.

The organization established by the Treaty could contain within itself possibilities of growth and of adaptation to changing conditions.

The North Atlantic countries already constitute, in fact, a group of nations sharing similar democratic ideals and cultural traditions. The creation of a "collective security system" among them may well provide a basis on which it may be possible to build, in the course of this generation, a closer unity of the North Atlantic world.

An Editorial— BY LOUIS DOLIVET
International Editor

The Great Decision

THE delegates of the 58 governments of the United Nations, meeting in April for the seventh time in the highest forum of the UN—the General Assembly—will have to make a monumental decision. They must decide whether to let the present dangerous cold war, with its encouragement of super-armaments and its intrinsic threat of a new world war, continue or whether they are determined to live up to the expectations of the average citizen of the world.

The burden of decision, it seems to us, rests with the following governments, in this order:

1. *The government of the Soviet Union.* It must:

Back up by concrete deeds its often-proclaimed desire for permanent peace and international disarmament. Surely the leaders of the Soviet Government, who are highly versed in political science, do not ignore the fact that there exist in the world of today most of the conditions which could bring about a new world war—but virtually none which could unleash a world revolution.

They surely realize that, if war should break out, the masses of the world, including those of Russia and Eastern Europe, which were fired by great enthusiasm in the fight against barbaric Nazism and Fascism, would react entirely differently than they did then, if the bloc opposing the Soviet Union should be composed mostly of democratic or socialist governments.

If the USSR is sincerely determined to back up concretely its demands for peace, there is no better place to do this than in the forthcoming General Assembly.

There are three new policies which, we are told by Western governments, might do more than anything else to alleviate present fears:

First, acceptance by the Soviet Union of the competence of the UN in all matters relating to international peace and security (the other powers will never agree that UN competence be extended to fields where it is useful to the USSR, and limited where it is not).

Second, admission of UN commissions into areas which constitute danger points (for example, North Korea).

Third, abandonment of the current boycott against certain organs of the UN (such as the Balkan Commission) and full participation in the Specialized Agencies.

2. *The United States of America.* It must:

First, reiterate to all its present and potential allies that the basic aim of the foreign policy remains the effective implementation of the principles of the Charter of the UN. There is at present a feeling among many of the smaller allies that the US concept of the UN has moved it into the sphere of far-off ideals, and that the immediate concrete policy of the US is one of regional alliances.

Second, make sure that the Atlantic Pact and the other contemplated regional agreements, such as the Mediterranean and other pacts, are integrated into the framework of the Charter without any possibility of doubt.

Third, hold itself ready constantly for full co-operation with the East as soon as effective improvement in the international situation occurs.

3. *The medium and smaller powers.* They must:

Reaffirm ever and again their belief in the UN philosophy and their anxiety over the big-power scramble.

There is an urgent need for a higher caliber of UN diplomatic craftsmanship. There must be much more careful study and preparation for debates on the part of the individual delegates. There is need for raising the debate from the angry tone to Wilsonian or Rooseveltian philosophical pitch. A study of the work of predecessors in the League of Nations, such as Lord Robert Cecil, Aristide Briand, Leon Bourjois, Maxim Litvinov, Edouard Benes, Nicholas Titulesco and others, would greatly enhance the quality of arguments presented in United Nations debates.

The UN ideology is more than a security concept.

It is an all-embracing universal doctrine of far-reaching principles of international economic co-operation, of social welfare for all mankind, of human rights, of intellectual and cultural growth.

It contains all the ingredients of a moral and political theory around which the peoples of the world could rally, beyond and above the concepts of capitalism and communism.

The delegates to the General Assembly cannot ignore the deep dissatisfaction of the overwhelming majority of men with the statesmanship displayed in the UN.

They must make the great political and personal decision. They must either grow up to their responsibilities —not only as delegates of national governments but also as representatives of the peoples of the world—or resign from the highest body so far devised by mankind.